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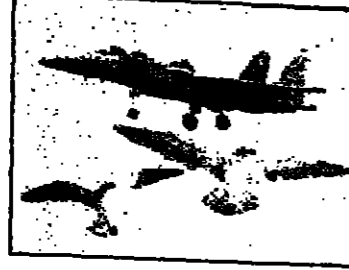
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**Yes, prime ministers**  
 Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu (left) is welcomed to 10 Downing Street yesterday by his British counterpart, Tony Blair. Page 2. (AP)

## Iraq expels US arms inspectors

Clinton: Challenge to world community

By HILLEL KUTTLER, MARLYN HENRY, ARLEN O'SULLIVAN, and news agencies

Iraq expelled six American arms inspectors to Jordan late last night, the Iraqi news agency INA reported.

"The six American inspectors working within the UN inspection teams have left Baghdad for Amman by land at 11 p.m. this evening," INA said.

INA said the departure of the Americans was in line with the decision of the "Revolutionary Command Council ... which was issued today." Iraqi television showed the inspectors leaving in a convoy of three cars. The other inspectors are due to leave by air today.

The UN, rather than segregating the Americans, is pulling all but a skeletal staff of weapons inspectors from Iraq today, chief weapons inspector Richard Butler said in New York. The US went back to the Security

Council yesterday, seeking unspecified action to tell Iraq it cannot throw out American members of UN inspection teams with impunity.

President Bill Clinton pledged that he would work to prevent Iraq's expulsion of members of the UN team inspecting

in the entire Gulf War," Clinton said. "It is important to the safety of the world that they continue their work. I intend to pursue this matter in a very determined way."

Clinton said the Security Council's resolution on the matter Wednesday night sent the "right message" for Iraq to "comply now with the UN resolutions and let the UNSCOM inspection team go back to work."

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright consulted with US allies on how to respond to the latest Iraqi threat. She and UN Ambassador Bill Richardson spoke on a US initiative for further a further UN statement or condemnation that, in the words of her spokesman James Rubin, will "demonstrate to Saddam Hussein that this attempt to divide the world has failed" and that "there's only one way out: to comply with the UN and allow the inspectors to do their jobs."

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan assured Albright in a noon phone call that "the world stands united in demanding that Saddam Hussein reverse course," Rubin said.

He also said that Congress's failure so far this week to approve payment of \$900 million in back UN dues will have repercussions, making it "harder and harder to get support at the UN for this important national security matter."

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai urged Israelis to relax amid the growing tensions between the US and Iraq, saying last night that we have nothing to worry about.

"Israelis can be calm. We will follow events," Mordechai said. "And whatever needs [to be done] will be done in coordination with the United States."

He added that the US and the UN have the power to enforce their demands.

'Jane's' Iraq has nuclear material, Page 2

Baghdad's weapons sites. Speaking at the White House, Clinton called Iraq's announcement "clearly unacceptable" and a "challenge to the international community."

"Let me remind you all again - I will say this every time I discuss this issue - these inspectors in the last six years have uncovered more weapons of mass destruction potential, and destroyed it, than was destroyed

## Declassified report: Raviv was violent provocateur

By LIAT COLLINS

Previously classified material from the Shamgar Report on the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin depicts Avishai Raviv as a violent provocateur, who was asked by his General Security Service handlers to actively protest the peace process, whose actions discredited legal political groups, and who failed to even hint at Yigal Amir's declared intention to harm Rabin.

Although Raviv was constantly cautioned by his handlers, he was not stopped, it says. The report also shows Rabin was aware of

the threat to him but did not, as the person ministerially in charge of the GSS, order tighter security arrangements.

The two declassified sections published yesterday deal with

**Raviv revealed, Page 3**

Raviv and the supervision of the GSS by the Prime Minister's Office.

"Avishai Raviv was connected to the GSS as an agent from 1987," the report reads. "During the period of his activities, which was assessed as effective, he was also caught at many incidents of lawbreaking, including acts of violence, and despite warnings

See RAVIV, Page 12

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## NEWS

in brief

## Congress OKs bill with Israel's allocation

After months of debate, Congress passed the final versions of the foreign operations bill that includes Israel's \$3 billion economic and military packages.

It will now be sent to the White House for Clinton's signature, after which Israel will receive its "early payment" of its entire package.

An Israeli Embassy official lauded the development, stating that "it has again shown that the American interest in strengthening Israel and supporting it continues, as demonstrated by Congress's bipartisan support."

The bill maintains Egypt's funding level at \$2.1 billion, while raising Jordan's allocation to \$225 million. The bill also withholds money from the Palestinian Authority unless the president certifies that it is in the US "national interest" for the PA to receive it. *Hillel Kuttler*

## Terror suspects arrested in Samaria

The IDF Spokesman confirmed reports that several Palestinians were arrested by security forces in Samaria last night. They are suspected of involvement in terror activities. *Margot Dudkevitch*

## New Ma'aleh Adumim road being built

A new road is being built to lay the foundation of a new neighborhood of 350 housing units in Ma'aleh Adumim, Channel 2 reported last night.

The Housing Ministry confirmed the new road is being built but said there are no immediate plans to build a neighborhood and no authorization for such plans from Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai.

"It is only a road," said Housing Ministry spokesman Moshe Eilat.

Eilat said the road was being built to more efficiently connect Jerusalem and Ma'aleh Adumim. *AP*

## Adani discharged for role in Rabin murder

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai yesterday approved the recommendation of Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak that Sgt. Dror Adani be stripped of his rank and dishonorably discharged from the army. Adani was convicted last year of conspiring to kill prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and of weapons charges. He was sentenced to seven years in prison. Adani's discharge follows that of the Amir brothers, the IDF Spokesman's Office said. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

## Illegal homes destroyed

The Civil Administration destroyed two illegally built Palestinian homes in the villages Bani Naim and Beit Omar, near Hebron, yesterday. *Margot Dudkevitch*

## 'Jane's': Iraq has hidden A-bomb material

LONDON (AP) - Iraq still has the scientific talent and industrial base to build nuclear weapons and there is some evidence that it has hidden "a good deal" of bomb-making material, *Jane's Intelligence Review* reported yesterday.

An eight-page report in the magazine's December issue details how close Saddam Hussein came to building a bomb before the 1991 Gulf War - and concludes that Iraq still has nuclear ambitions although Iran may be ahead in the race to build a bomb.

*Jane's Intelligence Review*, part of the authoritative military publishing group, said Iraqi defectors and sources close to the International Atomic Energy Agency have indicated that the Iraqis still maintain an active nuclear weapons program.

The scientific and industrial infrastructure to build a bomb are in place and hundreds of employees of the nuclear establishment remain on permanent standby, supported by the government as if they were working full-time, the magazine said.

"Also, while it is acknowledged that much of the material intended for use in building a nuclear bomb has been either uncovered or destroyed, there is

some evidence that a good deal remains hidden," it said.

*Jane's* cited indications of some kind of "technical cooperation" between Iraq and its former enemy Syria, which Israeli intelligence sources suggested could include joint development of weapons of mass destruction.

"While it is too early to speculate about a nuclear link, it could be a feasible scenario for the next decade, especially if UN sanctions on Iraq remain rooted," *Jane's* said.

"There is little doubt that Syria has shown a distinct interest in acquiring weapons of mass destruction of its own. By early 1997 it had topped some of the Scud C missiles deployed along its southern [Israeli] front with Sarin nerve gas," the magazine said.

Although frequent UN inspections have prevented Iraq from conducting nuclear weapon development work at declared sites, there is significant evidence from defectors and others that scientists are working elsewhere in violation of UN Security Council resolutions, *Jane's* said.

The Iraqis have barred inspectors from entering many sites, giving them time to remove incriminating evidence, it said.

## Winning numbers

In yesterday's weekly Paysis Hazak drawing ticket number 416702 won NIS 1 million, while ticket number 249836 won the car. Tickets 330926, 053547, 282533, 424796, 228238, 243063, 722908, 050653 won NIS5,000.

Tickets ending in 23601, 40119, 06919, 87136, 75406, 36483, 48679, 86849, 43234, 06919, 055026, 54075, 68407, 49292, 87136, 83805, 94262, 00655, and 56358 won NIS 1,000. Tickets ending in 755, 238, 522 and 419 won NIS 100.

\* Tickets ending in 33,85,39 and 40 won NIS30. Tickets ending in 98 and 39 won NIS20. Tickets ending in 1 and 7 won NIS 10.

## PM cautions British on Iran, Iraq

Says Oslo Accords won't resolve Jerusalem, refugee issues

By JAY BUSHINSKY and news agencies

LONDON - The burgeoning international crisis over Iraq's treatment of the American arms inspectors is looming over Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's talks here today with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, as it did in his talks yesterday with his British counterpart Tony Blair.

Netanyahu has been discussing the possibility of a US-led military strike against Iraq in terms of the impact it could have on Israel.

Like Israel, Great Britain firmly supports US President Bill Clinton in the ongoing confrontation with Iraq's Saddam Hussein. Netanyahu said he hopes to meet with Clinton next month.

The political phase of Netanyahu's working visit to the UK began with a session with Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown. Subsequent meetings with Blair and Foreign Minister Robin Cook convinced Netanyahu that Great Britain will intensify the European Union's involvement in the peace process when it assumes the EU presidency on January 1. The Europeans will try to accelerate the bilateral as well as the multilateral negotiations, Netanyahu said.

In an address to MPs in Westminster, Netanyahu denied accusations that he wanted to delay the peace process. "On the contrary, I want to move it forward," he said. But Netanyahu told them he was unequivocally opposed to the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Former home secretary Michael Howard, a Conservative, pressed Netanyahu to explain how he intends to inject meaningful momentum into the peace process.

Netanyahu implied that progress depends on the Palestinians, not on him. "They have to fulfill their part," he said. "We are fulfilling ours."

But he cautioned that "two issues will not be resolved" under the Oslo formula:

• Refugees - There will be no apportioning of Israel due to a massive influx of displaced Palestinians, he told the parliamentarians.

• Jerusalem - "If I have to choose between peace and the unification of Jerusalem, I will choose Jerusalem," he said.

Netanyahu ruled out the idea of sharing authority in Jerusalem with the PA, saying, "Jerusalem is the red line."

Netanyahu also said that Russia was still passing ballistic missile technology to Iran, which was just a year away from acquiring

a long-range nuclear missile capability.

"If the supply of Russian technology is not stopped, then within a year Iran would become self-sufficient and would be able to create those missiles on its own," he said.

Russia has repeatedly denied charges that it is passing missile know-how to Tehran. But Netanyahu said the flow of Russian technology was continuing despite a direct appeal he had made to Yeltsin, backed up by Clinton.

If Russia cuts off the flow then the Iranian ballistic missile program would be set back by many years, he told the parliamentarians. The Russian technology was "absolutely crucial" for Iran's capabilities, he said.

"I am also glad to see Tony Blair spoke to Yeltsin about it," he added. "It is very important that Russia receives appeals from all members of the international community because we are all at risk."

"We have to assume that they [the missiles] will be used... Iran armed with ballistic missiles could sway the whole politics of the Middle East and undermine existing security arrangements," Netanyahu said.

A further risk was that Islamic fundamentalist movements involved in terrorism would be emboldened to act if Iran acquired such missiles.

Netanyahu also cited a threat from what

he described as Iraq's ongoing attempts to develop nuclear weapons, but said international concern should focus equally on Iran, which was "developing these weapons with the same enthusiasm but without any limitations."

"Iran is developing nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons," he said. "Iran is also developing ballistic missiles that can propel these missiles not only to Israel but in a second stage to Europe and in a third stage to the eastern seaboard of the United States."

*Douglas Davis adds:* Netanyahu was greeted by about 50 Peace Now demonstrators when he arrived to address Jewish leaders in London last night. They carried placards supporting the peace process and calling on Netanyahu to resign. Inside the packed hall, Netanyahu told the audience he was seeking to "negotiate a historic settlement with the Palestinian within the coming year."

He also appealed to the Diaspora to support a compromise that will allow the "evolution of a solution" to religious rifts within Judaism.

"All streams - Orthodox, Conservative and Reform - we're all Jews. It doesn't matter to me."

## Netanyahu, Albright to meet today in London

By HILLEL KUTTLER

WASHINGTON - Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will meet today in London to discuss how to move ahead on the Israeli-Palestinian final-status talks.

The US believes that last week's ministerial summit here involving Albright, foreign minister David Levy and the Palestinian Authority's Mahmoud Abbas moved the peace process forward on several of the outstanding interim-stage issues and wants to build on that progress at the leadership level.

Albright will also meet tomorrow in Geneva with PA Chairman Yasser Arafat.

Albright "wants to have the opportunity to lay out her views and thoughts on how to put the process back on track now in light of [last week's] discussions and what we think is necessary to be able to move forward," US special Middle East coordinator Dennis Ross said in a speech Wednesday, to a forum gathered by *Middle East Insight* magazine.

Ross said that the meeting will deal primarily with the "four-part" agenda Albright laid out following her meeting with Levy and Abbas at the UN in late September.



## English song contest

Shown at last night's second annual AACI English song contest (from left) are banjo player Bruce Brill, who came in fifth, and singers Olivia Werby, Rachel Jascow, and Margalit Jakob. Newcomer Drew Hoile and Baruch Friedland won a runaway victory for their Beatles-style song 'Too Many Nights.' Second place went to last year's second-place winner, Ann Limor, for her quiet ballad 'The Gift.' Yisrael Lutnick took third with his 'Can We Ever Have Music,' while fourth went to first-time competitor Batya Walker for 'Dreams.' Hoile a new immigrant from Australia teamed up with Israeli lyricist Friedland in the winning effort. (Text: Helen Kaye; Photo: Israel: Sam)

## Arafat plans to declare statehood in 1999

By Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies

The Palestinian Authority will declare statehood in 1999 - if need be unilaterally - at the end of the five-year interim period of autonomy, PA Chairman Yasser Arafat declared yesterday.

"I want to tell them that we will be able to implement what we promised our people," Arafat told reporters in Gaza after a meeting with Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy.

The interim agreement is five years. Three years of it has passed, and we are waiting for the next two years to declare [statehood]," Arafat said. "At the end of the five years, our target will be to establish our independent state."

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's communications adviser, David Bar-Ilan, said a unilateral declaration of statehood would violate earlier agreements "because it prejudices negotiations on the final status."

In the final status agreement, to be reached by May 1999, Israel and the Palestinians must agree on the nature of the emerging Palestinian entity. It is widely believed the agreement will include provisions for Palestinian statehood in parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Arafat yesterday accused Netanyahu of dragging his feet in the negotiations.

"The Israeli government is trying to waste time," Arafat said.

In a meeting with a delegation from Gush Shalom, Arafat also blamed Israel for rumors that he was in bad health.

"The government of Israel is spreading baseless rumors about my health condition," Arafat said.

The Gush Shalom delegation, headed by Uri Avineri, reported that Arafat was very pessimistic about the peace process.

"In the days of Rabin, a brave man who was my partner in the peace process, every door in the world was opened to the state of Israel," Arafat told them. "Now

Bibi Netanyahu is slamming them closed, one after another. Netanyahu will bring disaster to us all, not just to the Israelis and the Palestinians, but also to the [people of the] entire region."

In a related development, some 1,000 Palestinian schoolchildren marched in Hebron yesterday to mark Palestinian independence day. The main celebrations are scheduled for tomorrow, which has been observed as a national holiday in recent years.

Waving Palestinian flags and pictures of Arafat, the children chanted: "Long live the leader" and "Yes to self-determination."

It has been nine years since Arafat - then still in exile - declared Palestinian independence during the November 15, 1988, session of the Palestine National Council. The declaration was widely perceived at the time as a symbolic act - the Palestinians never delineated the boundaries of their state - and most countries have not recognized it.



Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat chats with Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy following their meeting at Arafat's office in Gaza City yesterday. (AP)

## Rubinstein and Reno discuss teen murder suspect

By HILLEL KUTTLER

WASHINGTON - Attorney General Elyakim Rubinstein told his American counterpart Janet Reno yesterday that his decision to allow the extradition of S., the Maryland teenager wanted for murder, was made "despite the pressure and not because of the pressure" from the US.

Reno said she appreciated Rubinstein's cooperation on the case of the 17-year-old. She told Rubinstein that while she is "very sensitive" to Israeli law, she places great importance on the accused's being tried in the US.

In the meeting, according to an Israeli Embassy official,

Rubinstein reviewed his legal thinking on the case and said that all efforts will be made to implement the bilateral extradition treaty.

He also explained the Justice Ministry's work, predating the S. case, to try to change the law to allow for an Israeli citizen to be tried abroad for a crime committed there, provided he serve his sentence in Israel.

The other item on Rubinstein's agenda was the case of convicted spy Jonathan Pollard. He requested that Reno commute his life sentence to the 12 years he has already served, or at least reduce it.

Rubinstein also invited Reno to visit Israel.

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# Criminal complaints still pending against Raviv

## Calls to prosecute intensify

By BATSHEVA TSUR

Over the past few days, the Justice Ministry had studiously refused to reveal details of investigations into Raviv's activities, saying merely that an unspecified number of complaints "from before the assassination" were being looked into. Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein hopes to wind up the investigations shortly after his return from the US next week, the ministry spokesperson added.

But yesterday's statement was more forthcoming. It noted that, in one case, Raviv had been charged in the Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court and found guilty for attacking Hadash MK Tamar Gozansky in 1991.

It said that "other files... had indeed been closed... by the police and the State Attorney's Office for legal reasons (lack of evidence or lack of interest to the public) without any connection to (and sometimes without any awareness of) the fact that he was an agent."

It was therefore only in a minority of cases that it was decided to close a file against Raviv because of his GSS ties, "out of fear that bringing him to court would expose him as an agent and prevent the possibility of getting vital information from him which could thwart possible harm to human life."

Of 15 police files opened against Raviv, the State Attorney's Office

was responsible for closing three, the statement added. "Two of the files were closed after an investigation, without any connection to his being an agent. A third file (relating to the 'initiation ceremonies' affair) is still pending and there is no foundation to reports that it was closed by former attorney-general Michael Ben-Yair."

The reference is to the initiation ceremony held by the extremist Eyal organization allegedly founded by Raviv, footage of which was screened on Israel TV's Channel 1.

The appendix to the Shamgar Report lists a large number of illegal activities attributed to Raviv for which he was not charged - including physical violence, attacks on property, masquerading as a policeman and "searching" Arabs, as well as participating in the setting up of "Napat," a Hebrew acronym for "Zionist Fascist Youth" 1990.

The section of the appendix relating to ties between the GSS and the police was not made public. Yesterday's statement did not mention a file relating to charges that Raviv failed to inform his superiors of Yigal Amir's intention to assassinate Rabin. The ministry spokesman confirmed last night that the attorney-general is still to decide on the fate of a file "dealing with failure to prevent a crime."

By LIAT COLLINS

Yesterday's publication of the previously classified material on Avishai Raviv from the Shamgar Commission report on the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin led to increased calls for Raviv's prosecution.

The Knesset subcommittee on the secret services took the unusual step of issuing a statement declaring "its complete faith in the General Security Service, which carried out its work faithfully and is fully committed to a democratic regime, its rules and laws."

The subcommittee said there is no basis for rumors that the GSS was either directly or indirectly involved in a conspiracy. "This falsehood seriously harms the GSS's ability to carry out its difficult fight against terror and subversion," the statement said.

The statement said there were serious defects in the way Raviv was handled, from which the GSS must be learned. It said it would monitor the GSS's work to ensure that agents did not cause harm to innocent individuals, bodies, or political groups.

Law Committee chairman Shaul Yahalom (National Religious Party) said Raviv should be tried and the GSS should apologize to the residents of Hebron blamed for the violent acts against Arabs he instigated and carried out. He said Raviv's handlers should also be tried and said a committee should be established to decide procedure relating to the operation of agents in protest groups.

Communications Minister Limor Livnat and Molelet's Rehavam Ze'evi made similar statements.

"To meet whip Eliezer Zandberg said Raviv should stand trial for not preventing the assassination, but added: "It is important to remember that the discussions on Raviv are secondary, and we would be mistaken to suffice with this without looking deeper into the processes and bodies which brought about the murder."

Alex Lubotzky (Third Way) said the report does not lend support to conspiracy theories but revealed "a serious moral failing in the GSS."

The Likud faction issued a statement saying Raviv's role in the provocations and incitement which preceded the assassination must be thoroughly investigated.

Opposition MKs however said the Right could not use Raviv to absolve itself. Ran Cohen (Meretz) said Raviv was a right-wing extremist before he was recruited by the GSS, but he said Raviv should be tried for his criminal activities.



Avishai Raviv (left), at a demonstration several years ago. (Ilan Ossendryver/Israel Sun)

## Reflections on a 'reliable' source

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK  
By HERB KEINON

For reporters covering the extreme right wing following the 1994 Machpela Cave massacre by Baruch Goldstein in Hebron, Avishai Raviv was a gold mine.

Raviv's role as a GSS informant was documented in the classified portion of the Shamgar Report released yesterday.

Prior to Goldstein, the extreme right-wing organizations - whose spokesmen were in constant contact with reporters - provided a dilemma. Do you report their statements and claimed illegal acts, thereby giving these groups the publicity that sustains them, or do you ignore them? Prior to Goldstein, the tendency was to ignore them; to dismiss them as publicity-seeking extremists who "talked the talk, but did not walk the walk."

Goldstein changed that perception. No longer were the threats from wild-eyed extremists in groups like Kach and Kahane Ha'i dismissed as bravado. Goldstein proved there were people who would translate these extreme words and slogans into heinous acts.

From that time on, all claims and threats and statements by the extreme Right were taken more seriously. This is when Avishai Raviv walked in. Although Raviv had made headlines a few years earlier with his verbal assault on the Druse head of Tel Aviv University's students association, and a physical assault on Hadash MK Tamar Gozansky during a Kach demonstration, he only became a media fixture around the time of the Goldstein massacre.

Raviv, unlike many rank-and-file activists (as opposed to the familiar spokesmen) on the extreme Right at that time, was willing - even eager - to talk.

About a year before the massacre, Raviv formed Eyal, and one of its first actions was to circulate a leaflet calling on the youth not to serve in the IDF.

"The government of Israel has lost its moral authority in our eyes and we do not see ourselves as obligated to it in any way," the leaflet said. The leaflet called upon people not to serve in the IDF because "it has become political and serves the narrow interests of Rabin's traitorous government."

Raviv first came to the attention of some reporters at a press conference Kach held days after the Goldstein massacre. He stood in the shadows of Kach's Jerusalem office and was talkative. Beeper numbers were exchanged, and from then on Raviv was a good source of information on the doings and thinking of the extreme Right.

His information was reliable, and he could be counted on for the extreme quote. For instance, at the first anniversary of the Goldstein massacre, Raviv, present at Goldstein's grave in Kiryat Arba, said: "I came here to identify with the man. I am not sorry that Arabs died. I think many more should die."

When asked if he thought others should follow Goldstein's lead, Raviv replied: "Not everyone is at his level. Everyone has their role to play."

Raviv quickly joined a list that included Baruch Marzel, Noam Federman, and Itamar Ben-Gvir as someone who could be called on all matters pertaining to the extreme right wing. He would also occasionally initiate contact, usually from a pay phone at the Tel Aviv Central Bus Station. He created an impression of authenticity by seeming to always have one foot in the underground.

There were a couple of things about Raviv that, only afterwards, did not seem to fit. How was it that this student in his mid-twenties had two apartments, one in Ma'aleh Adumim, and one in Kiryat Arba? Nor did he seem to fit the stereotypical mold of a Jewish history and philosophy student at Bar-Ilan University.

Also, if he was involved in as many illicit activities as he claimed - from organizing illegal demonstrations to "patrolling" streets in Hebron and harassing Arabs - why was he never in jail?

In dealing with the right-wing organizations, reporters come to learn quickly that, in general, the doers don't talk, and the talkers don't do. Which is why Baruch Goldstein and Yigal Amir were unknown quantities - they did not seek the limelight - while people like Baruch Marzel and Noam Federman, publicity hounds, seem to pose no real security risk.

Raviv appears to have been the exception. He is a man whose talk may have done quite a lot.

## Bar-Ilan: Labor government used Raviv to blame settlers

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Officials and ministers in the previous government were aware of Avishai Raviv's activities and kept quiet, blaming the settlers, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's policy adviser David Bar-Ilan charged yesterday.

He called the revelations about Raviv shocking, with extremely grave implications. He demanded an immediate investigation, charging it is inconceivable that an agent employed by the state was allowed to operate and cause untold damage to national security.

Settlement leaders yesterday also charged that General Security Service officials were fully aware of Raviv's provocative activities and did nothing to stop him. They said his activities led to the entire settler community being blacklisted by the former government, left-wing organizations, and large segments of the population.

Settler leaders said that while they are aware that there are informers living within their communities, a number of active agents continue to incite.

Kiryat Arba spokesman Tsvi Popovitch said he knows of some 10 agents who were active in the community from 1987 until the Rabin assassination. Since then, he said, the agents have lowered their profiles.

However, he charged that as a result of Raviv's activities the entire community's name has been blackened, and he demanded all those involved be brought to justice. He recalled the murder in Halhoul that Raviv, then heading the extreme right-wing group Eyal, took responsibility for. "Later it came to light that Arabs, not Jews, had killed Arabs."

Noam Arnon, spokesman for the Hebron Jewish community, said he is sure no informers are operating in Hebron because the community is small and close-knit, but said he could not rule out the possibility that

agents are still operating in Kiryat Arba and other areas in Judea and Samaria.

Shilo Gal, head of the Gush Etzion Regional Council, said he knows the identities of two agents working in the settlements. He refused to name the settlements, and said he raised the issue in a meeting between settlement leaders and OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan 18 months ago.

Gal said the their identities became known after Russian immigrants raised suspicions, fearing the two were KGB agents. One of the two, he said, worked at the Gush Etzion Regional Council before moving on to work in the Efrat local council.

Later, he said, the same agent attempted to infiltrate an organization run by MK Benny Elon (Molelet) and then worked for a period in the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza.

Council spokesman Yehiel Leiter said he could not recall anyone who worked at the council who encouraged incitement.

He charged however that while the GSS may feel it necessary to operate informers, there is a vast difference between employing people to inform and allowing agents to incite to murder and take part in provocative acts.

Council spokeswoman Yehudit Tayar recalled that on several occasions Raviv and other agents attempted to force the council into carrying out more provocative and violent activities.

Meanwhile Aharon Domb, the council's director-general, whose name was mentioned in the report after Raviv threatened his family, said he could not understand why the state attorney had closed cases concerning Raviv's activities.

The police advised me at the time to install listening devices in my home and told me they suspected Raviv was behind the threats I was receiving," he said.

## Yuval Rabin receives death threat

By MICHAL YUDELMAN

Yuval Rabin, the son of Yitzhak Rabin, received a threat to his life on Wednesday morning, as he was on his way to a memorial ceremony in Jerusalem marking the second anniversary of his father's assassination.

Dor Shalom spokesman Oren Yehi-Shalom said this was one of a growing number of threats and attacks on the peace movement's activists from extremist right-wing organizations. Yuval Rabin is one of the heads of the group.

At 9:40 a.m. a male voice with a heavy Russian accent left this message on Rabin's cell phone: "If you continue in your father's path, you will follow in his footsteps."

The threat came less than two weeks after a Dor Shalom office in Jerusalem that doubles as a play center for needy children was burned down.

Rabin, who filed a complaint with the police, refused to comment on the threat and his fellow activists in Dor Shalom said he remained unfazed.



Yuval Rabin (Moshe Shai)

But Yehi-Shalom said "frankly I'm a little concerned. Anyone could walk into our office. I hope we don't reach a stage in which we're afraid to work here."

He said Dor Shalom had its eye on a number of radical groups and, together with the police, which has set up a special investigation team, traced the threats to a Jerusalem-based group of extreme right wing immigrants from Russia.

"They know we're following

their steps and we assume they're after us," Yehi-Shalom said. "We urge the security forces to take note that there are people who still advocate violence and may act in violent ways."

Another group the police have their eye on focuses on slandering the late Yitzhak Rabin, whom they charge with murdering the victims of the bombing of the *Alitalia* in 1948.

A fax recently received at Dor Shalom's office listed the names of those who died on the *Alitalia*, and added: "Rabin murdered them in cold blood, voluntarily, and then strode on their blood to power. The people of Israel forgot, but God hasn't forgotten and will retaliate, measure for measure. That is God's way."

Yehi-Shalom said "I think I know

who is behind that threat. It shows our movement is very disturbing to certain people, although we emphasize our objection to any provocation. Yuval Rabin called only last Friday, on Army Radio, for tolerance and denounced ads which had been published against Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu."

Yehi-Shalom reported that a Jerusalem hair dresser named Haim, who hung up a pro-Rabin poster in his shop on the anniversary of the murder, has been attacked and threatened several times in the last two days.

Asked to comment on this week's death threat received by Molelet MK Benny Elon, Yehi-Shalom said: "We are deeply shocked. We know we cannot exclude the possibility of a 'wild weed' on the Left, too."



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**AIR CANADA**





# EU offers new ideas on Syria talks

DAMASCUS (Reuters) — Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Pöos, head of a European Union mission to the Middle East, met with Syrian President Hafez Assad yesterday to present "new ideas" aimed at reviving the Syrian-Israeli peace talks.

"We have new ideas which will offer to our friends and partners in Syria and we hope to have good results," Pöos told reporters before his talks with Assad. He did not give details.

Syrian presidential spokesman Joubran Kourieh said Foreign Minister Farouk Shara and EU special envoy to the Middle East Miguel Moratinos were present at the meeting at the presidential palace.

Pöos had talks earlier in the day with Shara, during which he stressed that peace could not be achieved between Syria and Israel without Israel's withdraw-

al from the Golan Heights, one Syrian official said.

"Pöos expressed the European Union's support to the Middle East peace process, the land-for-peace principle, and the implementation of UN resolutions regarding the crisis," he said.

Officials accompanying Pöos, who earlier had talks in Egypt, Jordan, Israel, and Gaza, said the EU wants to play a greater political and economic role in the peace process.

"Our role complements and does not contradict the role of the United States, the co-sponsor of the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations," an EU official said.

Officials said that Pöos's talks in Damascus would also cover issues related to Syrian-EU cooperation in various fields, especially the economic sector.

Pöos is due to visit Lebanon today.

# WTC bomb attack prosecutors vow to seize remaining terrorist

By DONNA DE LA CRUZ

NEW YORK (AP) — Only one suspect remains at large in the World Trade Center bombing, and prosecutors tempered their pleasure at the conviction of the plot's mastermind with a vow to catch the last man.

Ramzi Yousef, 29, and an accomplice, Eyad Ismoil, 26, were convicted Wednesday of conspiracy and other charges in the February 26, 1993, bombing.

The blast killed six people, injured more than 1,000 and did more than a half billion dollars in damage to the twin towers.

Four Islamic extremists already have been sentenced to 240 years in prison in the bombing.

The jury heard more than 100 witnesses and viewed hundreds of exhibits over three months. Jurors deliberated for three days before voting to convict the men,

who could get up to life in prison. Yousef is to be sentenced January 8; Ismoil on February 12. Their lawyers said they would appeal.

It was the fifth time in four years that prosecutors have prevailed at terrorism trials. But US Attorney Mary Jo White said it was too early to relax while one suspect is still at large: Abdul Rahman Yasin, who was born in Indiana and moved to Iraq in the 1960s.

"This case investigation will never be over until we track down anyone associated with this type of terrorism," she said.

This was the second terrorism conviction for Yousef. He represented himself last year in a conspiracy trial for killing a Japanese man with a plane bomb in December 1994, and for plotting to kill 4,000 Americans in two days by bombing a dozen airlin-

ers over the Far East. He has not yet been sentenced.

"We learned from all of these experiences. Every time we do this, it galvanizes us in law enforcement," FBI Assistant Director James Kalstrom said after the verdict.

Assistant US Attorney Lev Dassin told jurors in his closing arguments that Yousef and Ismoil "bombed the World Trade Center because of their own prejudice and their own hatred for Israel, for the United States and for the people of the United States."

"Yousef was a terrorist," Dassin said. "He came here to kill and to spread fear among the people of the United States."

Prosecutors said Yousef hoped to frighten the US out of support for Israel by blowing up the 110-story towers and killing hundreds of thousands of people. They said he came to the US in 1992 solely

to bomb an American landmark, joining his co-conspirators in Jersey City, New Jersey, where they ordered chemicals and rented a storage shed to accept deliveries and an apartment to serve as a bomb factory.

Ismoil was accused of driving the bomb-laden truck into the trade center's garage. He claimed he didn't know a bomb was in the van and was told it was a shipment of cleaning products.

Defense lawyers accused the FBI of lying, saying agents would do whatever they could to avenge one of the worst terrorist attacks in the nation's history.

Yousef and Ismoil fled the country the night of the bombing. Yousef was caught in Pakistan in 1995, the same year Ismoil was captured in Jordan.

Yousef bragged about the attack even as federal agents returned him in handcuffs and leg irons to

the US, eating a diagram he had drawn of the towers when he feared agents would take it, authorities said.

An FBI agent said Yousef told him he would have made the bomb bigger if he had more money. He also expressed disappointment that only six people died, a witness testified.

Three of the four men convicted in 1994 of bombing the trade center were followers of Shiekh Omar Abdel-Rahman, a blind Egyptian cleric who prosecutors said preached a fiery brand of Islam.

In 1995, Abdel-Rahman and nine others were convicted of conspiracy in a plot to blow up the United Nations, FBI headquarters and two tunnels and a bridge linking Manhattan to New Jersey. The sheik was sentenced to life in prison while the others received long sentences.

# Witness to fatal crash: Diana's car was at 'supersonic' speed

LONDON (AP) — The motorcyclist who says he was the first person at the scene of the crash that killed Princess Diana said in an interview published yesterday that the car had been going exceptionally fast. But he denied the driver had challenged paparazzi to catch it.

The London newspaper *The Guardian* quoted Stéphane Darmon, who was a holiday-relief motorcycle courier for Gamma picture agency at the time, as saying the car's speed had been "almost supersonic."

The Mercedes crashed in a Paris underpass early on August 31 while being pursued by photographers. French tests showed that Henri Paul, the driver, was drunk and had taken prescription drugs. Investigators have said the car was speeding.

Darmon, 32, denied reports that Paul issued a catch-me-if-you-can challenge. "The car had darkened windows and they were all closed but I could see Diana inside. She was still wearing dark glasses," he was quoted as saying.

But he told the paper Paul had fooled with photographers as they waited at the Ritz Hotel for Diana and Fayed to emerge.

"Henri Paul began playing games with us, saying they would be out in 10 minutes, then five. He staged two false departures, in which Mercedes cars drove round Place Vendôme and came back again," he told the paper.

It quoted him as saying he and Gamma photographer Romuald Rat sped off after the Mercedes on the courier's motorcycle when the real departure occurred.

"We drew even with the Mercedes at a traffic light," Darmon was quoted as saying. "There were cars in front of the Mercedes, so it could not just speed off when the lights turned to green. But it zigzagged quite cleverly through the traffic and was ahead of us when it turned into the slip road... Once it had turned into the dual carriageway, it just took off — almost super-

sonic."

A few minutes later, Darmon and Rat in pursuit reached the underpass. They had seen the Mercedes's lights disappear into it but had not heard the crash, Darmon was quoted as saying.

"We were the first to get there — the investigating magistrate says we arrived 30 seconds after the crash. Everything I remember from this moment, even the sounds, is in slow motion, like in a film. The car was almost facing us, with its bonnet in the wall. There was glass everywhere."

"I drove up to it and Romuald got off. The others were arriving. I drove on a little further, to the exit of the tunnel."

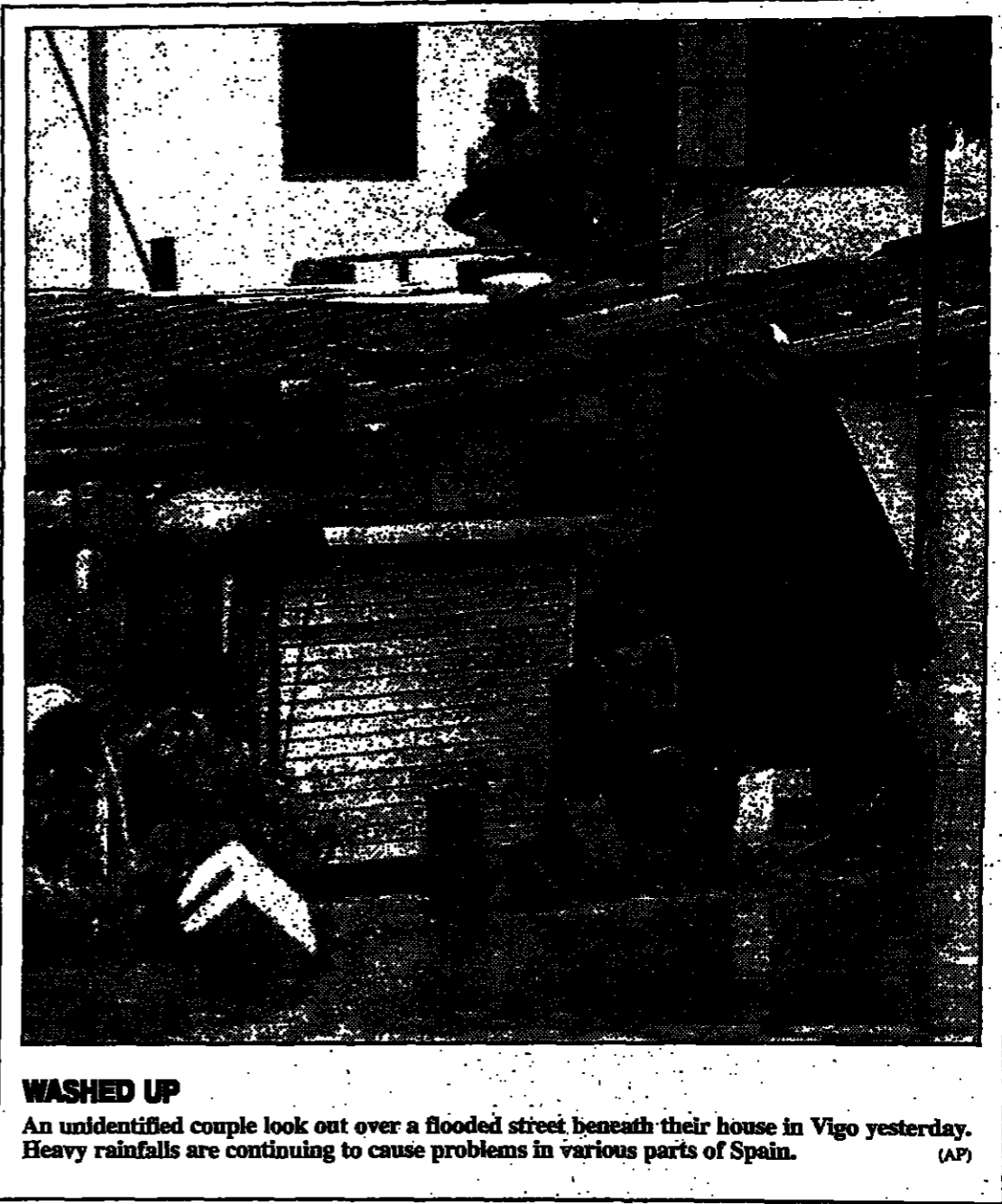
The photographers lined up on the right-hand side of the wreck. All the bodies were in the car. The underpass was white with flashlights. The cameras were going like machine guns. It was so dazzling that, for a while from my vantage point at the exit of the tunnel, I could not see the Mercedes.

"There were 10 or 15 photographers and maybe some onlookers. Romuald opened the rear right-hand door. Serge Amal from Stills, [another agency] made a sign to indicate he was calling the emergency services. Some police officers arrived."

Darmon said he is currently jobless. "The photographers have been given their press cards and are working again. I am unemployed," having been dropped by Gamma.

"I was only a temporary employee. Their lawyer still represents me but, really, he represents the agency. I cannot afford my own lawyer."

Darmon, Rat and a group of other photographers were placed under investigation after the crash to determine what role they may have played in the accident and whether they violated France's "Good Samaritan" law. Lawyers acting for them have expressed confidence they will be cleared of any responsibility.



**WASHED UP**  
An unidentified couple look out over a flooded street beneath their house in Vigo yesterday. Heavy rainfalls are continuing to cause problems in various parts of Spain. (AP)

**TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY**

deeply mourns the passing of

**ANNIE ADAMS**

Member of the Board of Governors of the University  
Doctor Philosophiae Honoris Causa  
Co-founder of the Adams Super-Center for Brain Studies  
and the Marcel and Annie Adams Institute for Business Management Information Systems  
A great friend of the University and Israel

The University extends condolences to her husband, Marcel, and the entire family.

**Benno Gitter** Chairman of the Board of Governors  
**Prof. Yoram Dinstein** President

**TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY**

The Faculty of Management  
The Leon Recanati Graduate School of Business Administration  
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We are deeply saddened at the loss of

**ANNIE ADAMS**

and offer our deepest condolences to the family.

Her contribution to the Faculty of Management at Tel Aviv University, and her ongoing involvement will always be remembered with gratitude and appreciation.

The Director of the Institute and its employees  
The members of the Adams Institute Club  
The Dean, lecturers and students of the Faculty of Management

With deep sorrow,  
we announce the passing of our beloved

**CORNELIA (Kay) LÖWENDORFF**  
née de Haaff  
widow of Norbert Löwendorff  
11.5.13 - 13.11.97

The funeral took place on Thursday, November 13, 1997 (13 Heshvan 5758) at the Herzliya Cemetery.

**M. Duitser**  
**E.Y. Spier**  
Executors of the Will

Address for correspondence: Westeinde 24, 1017 ZP Amsterdam, Holland

With deep sorrow I announce the passing away on 13 November 1997 of my companion in life

**KAY LÖWENDORFF**

She will be deeply missed

**Reuven Shay**

A memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved husband, father and grandfather

**Dr. JOSHUA (Solly) STEINBERG**

will take place on Tuesday, November 18, 1997 (18 Marheshvan) at 3:30 p.m. at the Sarhadria Cemetery, Jerusalem.

A Study Evening in his memory will be held at the Chief Aharon Synagogue, 28 Rehov Harip, Kiryat Shmuel, Jerusalem 5:00 p.m. Ma'ariv  
5:30 p.m. Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, Chief Rabbi of Pataana  
Prof. Avraham Grossman, for the congregation  
Stanley Emerson, for the family  
Study of Mishnayot

Relatives, friends, and all who cherish his memory are invited.  
**The Family**

# Chinese leaders to review markets' crisis

By ANDREW BROWNE

BEIJING (Reuters) — Top Chinese leaders will gather in Beijing next week to discuss cleaning up the country's troubled financial system amid a markets crisis gripping Asia, officials and state bankers said yesterday.

But Premier Li Peng, speaking in Japan, insisted the economy was in good shape and that China had escaped the turmoil rocking its neighbors.

Backing up his optimistic assessment, customs data showed China's trade surplus in the first ten months of this year surged to \$35.5 billion from \$11.9 billion a year earlier.

The surplus is swelling China's foreign exchange reserves and underpinning its currency.

A spokesman for the People's Bank of China, the central bank, said the leadership conclave in Beijing would last for three days starting next Monday. It will be organized by the State Council, or cabinet, reflecting its importance.

Chinese bankers said the gathering would consider ways to reduce risk in China's financial system and avoid the mistakes of Asian economies now paying the price for reckless lending, lax supervision and speculative currency inflows.

China's Big Four commercial banks are plagued by bad debt

piled up by ailing state companies, and other non-bank financial institutions are overextended and in trouble.

But Li boasted that China stood apart from the Asian financial crisis.

"The current fiscal woes that originated in Southeast Asia have affected many regions of the world, but not China," he told business leaders in Tokyo. "The exchange rate of the Renminbi Yuan and the US dollar has been stable at 8.3 to one."

Chinese financial analysts said Asia's crisis had further convinced China that a go-slow approach to currency liberalization was vital.

"China will move cautiously on allowing convertibility of the yuan on the capital account," said Hu Zhongjun, a senior economist with the State Council.

"It is not worried about the movement of capital in and out of the country by itself but it is concerned over potential disruption," he said in a reference to speculative trades.

China has freed up convertibility on the current account for trade purposes.

Hong Kong's *Sing Tao* daily reported that President Jiang Zemin, Premier Li Peng and economic czar Zhu Rongji would head the Beijing meeting on financial reform. Provincial Communist Party secretaries had also been summoned.

# New ambassador to Moscow: Clinton likely to visit Russia after START treaty ratification

By MITCHELL LANDSBERG

MOSCOW (AP) — US President Bill Clinton will probably visit Russia sometime early next year, ideally after Russia's ratification of the START II treaty, the new American ambassador said yesterday.

In his first news conference in Moscow as US ambassador, James Collins stressed the need for the

United States and Russia to continue reducing their nuclear arms stockpiles and improve nuclear security.

Responding to wide-ranging questions, Collins also defended NATO expansion, spoke of the need for Russia to reduce corruption and crime, and said the United States is keeping a close watch on Russia's implementation of a new religion law.

Collins, a career diplomat who has served in the US Embassy here twice before, has been serving as ambassador since September. He previously was ambassador-at-large for the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union.

His debut as ambassador was a reserved, low-key affair, in which he generally bowed to careful recitations of US policy.

# Censorship and symbolism in Iran

By SCHEHEREZADE FARANARZI

TEHERAN (AP) — It's not easy making a movie when characters of the opposite sex can't touch, or even get too close to each other. Or when women must be shown covered from head to toe, even when sleeping in bed.

Iranian films, however, are winning awards at international festivals, even as filmmakers complain about the strict rules they have to work under in the Islamic republic. Tahmineh Milani, one director willing to speak out in public, points to a rule by censors that characters of the opposite sex may not touch.

"You see a scene where a woman faints and collapses and her husband calls the [female] neighbor to pick her up," she said mockingly. "This is very damaging to the film."

Milani recalled another scene in which a soldier comes home from battle but cannot hold his mother in his arms.

"Hugging doesn't mean sex," Milani said in a frustrated tone. "It's the most beautiful expression of love."

What's toughest on realistic films is the rule that women characters must follow the Islamic dress code at all times; she com-

plained.

Still, recent Iranian movies have won international praise for their simple but frank appraisals of social issues in Iran's restrictive society. For example, *The Taste of Cherry*, which is about suicide, won this year's Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival. Filmed on the bleak outskirts of Teheran, it is the story of a man who tires of life and seeks to hire someone to bury him alive. He finds a man willing to help, but who insists on knowing why he wants to kill himself in a world full of pleasures — one being the taste of a cherry.

*The White Balloon*, which won the 1996 Cannes Film Festival and competed for Oscars, focused on a small girl sitting in a town square observing and meeting passersby. Milani received attention overseas for *Kakado*, the story of a young girl's growing pains, and *The Legend of the Sigh*, which is about five women from different social and economic backgrounds.

Those films generally have been popular in Iran, too. But getting them shown is no easy task. Milani, 37, said she struggled to get approval for all four movies she has made the past 10 years. A script for a fifth movie was approved a few months ago.

Getting an OK for a film means

innumerable trips to the Ministry of Islamic Culture and Guidance, which censors movies.

Milani blames a miscarriage on the stress of dealing with the censors — and the hundreds of times she had to walk up and down the ministry's stairs — to get approval for her last movie, *Kakado*. It took four years. Among the censors' objections was that a young female character named Golzar would not be wearing a head scarf. They also objected that an unsavory character was named Hassan, which they considered an insult to Imam Hassan, a Shi'ite Moslem saint.

Milani said the complaint about the name Hassan was dropped, and she argued — eventually successfully — that the girl was not yet old enough to have to wear a scarf under Islamic law.

Despite her frustrations and anger, Milani said she owes her success to the 1979 Islamic revolution that drove out the pro-Western Shah and brought in an Islamic regime. She was 18 at the time and her parents had refused to let her study cinema because films were not considered respectable. After the revolution, when film was no longer seen as "decadent," they changed their minds.

مركز القدس

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# FBI suspends Flight 800 inquiry

NEW YORK (AP) - The FBI has told families of the 230 victims of TWA Flight 800 that it found "absolutely no evidence" that a criminal act brought the plane down and is suspending its investigation, according to a letter obtained by The Associated Press.

"I must report to you... that our investigation has found absolutely no evidence to cause us to believe that the TWA Flight 800 tragedy was the result of a criminal act," wrote James Kallstrom, the FBI assistant director who headed the criminal probe.

Kallstrom confirmed Wednesday night that the FBI had sent a letter to victims' families, but he gave no details "as it is a private matter between the FBI and the families at this point." The FBI plans a news conference next week to issue a comprehensive report on the criminal probe's findings, a law-enforcement source said.

Kallstrom wrote that the FBI will continue to be involved in the National Transportation Safety Board's investigation of the July 1996 crash of the Paris-bound plane.

"Every lead has been covered, all possible avenues of investigation exhaustively explored, and every resource of the United States government has been brought to bear in this investigation," Kallstrom said.

The NTSB is continuing to try to learn what caused vapors inside the empty fuel tank to explode, shattering the Paris-bound plane shortly after takeoff from New York's Kennedy Airport.

The FBI has said repeatedly it has found no evidence that the Boeing 747 was downed by a bomb or missile.

The FBI began its investigation minutes after the jumbo jet burst into a fireball, killing everyone on board and scattering wreckage across a 13-square-kilometer area

of the Atlantic Ocean, about 15 kilometers off Long Island, outside New York City.

Numerous eyewitnesses reported streaks of light in the sky just before the explosion, prompting a team of investigators to focus on the missile theory. The FBI flatly rejected allegations by conspiracy theorists that an errant navy missile was to blame.

"When it first happened, I thought bomb," said Joe Lychner of Houston, who lost his wife and two small daughters in the crash.

"But when I look at all the testing the FBI did and they found nothing, I am convinced this had to be mechanical," FBI agents interviewed more than 7,000 people, including everyone who touched or had access to the aircraft at Kennedy Airport and in Athens, Greece, where the flight originated.

The FBI and NTSB reconstructed the wreckage inside a hangar and then scruti-

nized the holes and punctures for any evidence of a crime.

Michel Breistroff of Paris, whose 25-year-old son was killed, said he received Kallstrom's letter on Wednesday.

Breistroff said he and other family members overseas now plan a campaign to have all 747s grounded. "This plane is obviously a dangerous plane," he said. "It took investigators all these months and all these millions of dollars to tell us that."

TWA spokesman Donn Walker in St. Louis said the airline did not know that the FBI had sent letters indicating it was ending its criminal probe. "They've been hunting for a while so it's really not a surprise," he said.

He added the company was frustrated that federal investigators have not been able to determine what caused the crash. "We just want answers. We just want to know what happened," he said.

## Well fix it, dear Henry!

Many years ago, the name of Henry Kissinger came up during an interview with a Cypriot politician. "Kissinger!" he hissed with great venom. "I'd like to drink his blood. He drained ours."

There's an old Norfolk (England) folk song, long since transplanted to American country. It runs: "There's a hole in the bucket, dear Eliza, dear Eliza," to which Eliza responds with increasing frustration as the song runs on: "Well, fix it, dear Henry! Dear Henry, fix it!"

### Column One



Henry Kissinger's globe has been full of holes that needed fixing, but from the bottom of our own bucket - we see only one. Thus, after the 1974 war in Cyprus, Kissinger was the demon conspirator who allowed the CIA in Athens to plot with the dictator colonels to stage a coup in Cyprus which led to the Turkish invasion.

The Cypriots underscored their case by accusing him of destroying President Salvador Allende in Chile and bringing another hated general, Augusto Pinochet, to power.

In 1974, the same Mr. Fixit was making himself into a hero and a lifetime legend by negotiating the first ever disengagement treaty between Israel and Syria-Egypt. Of that, more later.

"The illegal we do immediately. The unconstitutional takes a bit longer," wrote Kissinger in *Law and Politics*, delighting both people with a sense of humor and conspiracy theorists who have none.

### Say thank you

This was put to Kissinger again at his meeting with the journalists on Wednesday, citing Bill Quant as one source of the rumor. Quant claimed to be a senior member of Kissinger's staff during the Yom Kippur crisis. Here is Kissinger's response:

"In 1973, Bill Quant was in the underbrush somewhere. I never saw Bill Quant; if you look at my record.

"The Israelis wanted me to convey a request for a cease-fire and I didn't want to ask for a cease-fire at a time that they had lost territory. The war started on Saturday and until Tuesday morning we believed Israel was winning very rapidly.

"Tuesday morning was the first time we heard Israel was in need of resupply. Tuesday evening, we told Israel all its losses would be replaced. Wednesday we started exploring the flight chartering. By Friday - 48 hours - the regular American airlift was started.

"To wait 48 hours before you put your military airlift at the disposal of a foreign country is not a great delay. In fact, most countries would consider that moving with great rapidity. That is the actual sequence of events.

"What Quant thought is of indifference to me. What we wanted to see was a cease-fire along pre-war lines and did not want a cease-fire in place in which Israel lost territory.

"Now there's the ring of truth from a man who consistently expresses fears for Israel's territorial security and says there must be no return to the 1967 borders. The least we could do, Ms. Goldberg, is thank Henry for fixing that one."

### Web wackos

The search for "Henry Kissinger" delivered a fine

# A day after Americans slain in Pakistan Phone threats in Malaysia on four Americans' lives

By NELSON GRAVES

KUALA LUMPUR (Reuters) - A telephone caller yesterday threatened to kill four Americans in Malaysia, the US embassy said, as strains between the two nations deepened.

The embassy in Kuala Lumpur said in a notice to the American community that it had received two telephone calls yesterday morning threatening harm to US citizens in Malaysia.

"One of the callers specifically threatened to kill four Americans in Malaysia," the embassy said.

The statement said the embassy was unable to assess the credibility of the threats. An embassy spokesman said the US government is taking the threats seriously.

In Karachi on Wednesday, a gunman killed four American men and their Pakistani driver in a daylight ambush. Police said the killings could have been linked to the US

conviction of a Pakistani for murdering two CIA employees.

The threats against Americans in Malaysia coincided with increased strains between the two nations. Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's cabinet on Wednesday condemned a non-binding resolution in Congress which urges him to apologize for alleged remarks about Jews or resign.

Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim said Mahathir's cabinet strongly objects to the resolution, introduced last month in the US House of Representatives.

The resolution, which has not been taken up by any congressional committee, calls on Mahathir "to apologize and acknowledge the destructive and divisive nature of his words, or as an alternative, resign as the prime minister of Malaysia."

Mahathir drew criticism from Jewish groups and the United States in October after he was

quoted as saying the government suspected Jewish groups had an agenda to block Moslems' progress. Mahathir later said he had been misinterpreted.

The cabinet's objection to the resolution was carried on the front pages of many Malaysian newspapers yesterday.

"The recent tragic event in Karachi... is an unpleasant reminder of the dangers faced by Americans abroad," the US embassy statement said.

"With the recent conviction of Mir Aimal Kasi, the ongoing trial of Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, the situation in Iraq, and today's local press articles on the congressional resolution, Americans in Malaysia are encouraged to maintain a high level of security awareness, and to report any suspicious or threatening behavior to the police," the statement said.

Kasi was convicted on Monday for the 1993 murder of two CIA

employees at the agency's Virginia headquarters.

On Wednesday, a US federal jury convicted Yousef of masterminding the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

About 100 supporters of Mahathir from the youth wing of his National Front coalition protested peacefully outside the US embassy in Kuala Lumpur yesterday.

The protest was against the draft congressional resolution and the US investigation into a gas deal in Iran that Malaysia's national oil company Petronas has signed.

Six protesters were allowed to enter the embassy and hand a note to political counselor Jeffrey Lunsdale.

In Washington, Malaysian Ambassador Dalil Hashim met the resolution's author, Rep. Robert Wexler, a Florida Democrat, on Wednesday to assure him Mahathir isn't "anti-Jewish."



Police stand guard outside Virginia's Fairfax County Judicial Center yesterday as the jury arrives for the sentencing of Mir Aimal Kasi, convicted of killing two CIA employees. The judge ordered the jury sequestered after Americans were murdered in Pakistan. (AP)

# Americans in Pakistan stay indoors

KARACHI (AP) - Americans living in Karachi stayed close to home yesterday amid fresh warnings from the US State Department just one day after four American oil company workers were gunned down on their way to work.

The American school was closed. US citizens were being advised to stay at home, and the State Department urged them to be wary of fresh retaliation, this time because of the US conviction on Wednesday of Ramzi Yousef.

Yousef, who was arrested in Pakistan in 1995, was convicted of conspiracy in the 1993 bomb-

ing of the World Trade Center in New York. Prosecutors portrayed Ramzi as one of history's most sinister terrorists and the architect of the World Trade Center bombing.

The shooting Wednesday of the four Union Texas Petroleum workers came just two days after the conviction in the US of Mir Aimal Kasi for the 1993 killings of two CIA agents outside the headquarters in Virginia.

"The November 10 conviction of Mir Aimal Kasi and the conviction... of Ramzi Yousef in the World Trade Center Bombing make Americans potential targets of retaliatory acts by their sym-

patizers," said the State Department advisory.

A similar warning was issued the day before the slaying of the Union Texas Petroleum company employees.

While there has been no motive established for that killing, the only group to publicly take responsibility for it is a previously unheard of organization, known as the Aimal Secret Committee.

Meanwhile, teachers at the American school in Karachi were told that a decision would be made whether to evacuate the children from the city, said Fania Khan, a US national working at the school.

"We were told not to come to the

school today and to keep the children home," she said.

Sindh Chief Minister Liaqat Jatoi has tried to reassure the American community in Karachi, promising "total security" for the school. There are about 300 students at the school, many of them are not Americans.

Employees of the US Consulate have not been allowed to bring their families to Karachi since the 1995 shooting there of two consulate employees.

Wednesday's attack mirrored that brutal killing of 1995: the consulate workers were gunned down on a busy street as they made their way to work.

# UN food agency afraid supplies might run out

ROME (AP) - Nations have drastically reduced their contributions of food aid, agricultural production has slowed, and food stocks are dwindling, a UN agency said Wednesday.

With 29 countries in need of food aid - four more than last year - the Rome-based Food and Agriculture Organization said it was worried food supplies would not be enough to go around.

And with the El Nino phenomenon causing havoc to weather patterns around the world, the 1998 harvest could prove even worse than this year's, the agency said.

"Food stocks are insufficient to face bad impacts [of El Nino] if they take place," said Jacques Vercueil, director of FAO's Agriculture and Economic Development Division.

Meteorologists call this year's El Nino phenomenon - a warm current in the Pacific Ocean that brings extreme weather changes - the worst in 100 years. An increase in droughts, floods, and forest fires has been reported.

FAO put the growth of this year's world agriculture production at 1.1 percent - the lowest in two decades.

Last year, considered by FAO an exceptionally good year, it was 3.6%.

Vercueil cited a mix of environmental and man-made factors for the drop, including civil wars that have ravaged many countries in Africa. Eighteen of the 29 countries requesting food aid are in Africa.

Five countries each in Asia and Eastern Europe, plus one in Latin America are also in need of aid.

The figures were released by FAO in its annual report.

FAO urged its 175 member nations to increase their food aid contributions, which dropped by 37% this year to reach the lowest level ever.

"Solidarity for agriculture is not receiving the priority it necessitates," Vercueil said.

If food stocks drop too much then prices will start climbing and the needy will have even less access to food, FAO said.

# Yad Sarah - Jerusalem

In the Golden Age Supplement (14.11.97) a mistake appeared in the Telephone and Fax numbers. The correct numbers are:  
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## Reconciliation is good politics

**T**he special Knesset session in memory of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was a spectacle, but — thankfully — not of the sort to which the public has grown accustomed. The session, attended by the Supreme Court justices, military leadership, and the diplomatic community, was formal and dignified. There were no catcalls, no signs, no walkouts — just speaking and listening. Now that we know the Knesset is capable of civilized behavior, why can it not continue the rest of the year?

Not just the form, but the content of the session provided hope that the nation is applying psychic brakes to prevent a further slide into the abyss of bitterness and internal division. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu gave his most conciliatory speech to date, saying "I, like others, must do my own soul-searching, must stretch out my own hand and... walk the path of dialogue and reconciliation."

Labor Party leader Ehud Barak, perhaps taken off guard by Netanyahu's speech, was not quite as conciliatory. While calling for unity, Barak peppered his speech with veiled digs at Netanyahu's own sins in precisely this quest. Referring to Netanyahu's presence at vicious anti-Rabin rallies before the assassination and his recent comments questioning the Jewish commitment of the Left, Barak said, "We must all of us, across the political spectrum, commit today that we will never again blast each other from balconies, never... surround ourselves with symbols of death, ... and never whisper divisive and inciting words in the ears of... spiritual leaders."

The fact is, Barak is right: Netanyahu has what to answer for in his behavior, both before the assassination and as prime minister. The Labor leader is also right that "Reconciliation is not a matter of words in a vacuum, but of actions..." It will take more than a few positive speeches to repair the many bridges Netanyahu has burned, both between government and opposition and within his own party.

Since his election and despite his initial pledge to work for unity, Netanyahu has displayed a penchant for defining his own accomplishments at his opponents' expense. Rather than focusing on the large overlap between the policies of the previous government and his own, he has accentuated the differences — sometimes even creating them where none exists.

For example, when explaining what he was trying to say when he was caught questioning the Jewishness of the Left, he made matters worse by accusing the Left of sharing responsibility for Israel's security with the Palestinians. This at the same time as Netanyahu had boasted, just before this summer's spate of bombings, that he had suc-

ceeded in achieving greater Palestinian security cooperation. Since the bombings, he has made sharing security responsibility, not only his policy, but a central demand from the Palestinians.

After a year in office, Netanyahu described his greatest accomplishment in the forms of attacks on the opposition: preventing the drive toward a Palestinian state on Israel's pre-1967 borders. To this day, Netanyahu has not found a way to describe his own vision in a way that does not attack the Oslo Accords and the opposition's record. He has never credited Oslo for paving the way for, or at least accelerating, the peace with Jordan, or reducing Israel's isolation in the world.

Netanyahu's great problem, ironically, is that — in the big picture — he is hewing so closely to the path of his predecessors that he feels he must continually attack them to defend himself against his right wing. This strategy has had a very divisive impact on the national debate, while it has failed to really appease the Right.

The alternative is to give credit where credit is due and emphasize areas of agreement with the opposition, while continuing to insist that compliance with the Oslo Accords be mutual, not one-sided. As final-status talks approach, the areas of potential agreement between Netanyahu and Barak are much greater than the differences. Yet unless Netanyahu switches tracks and begins to spotlight the shared ground, the prospects for calming the political atmosphere are slim.

Netanyahu's new tone is about one half of what he should have done since his election: The other half is to sit down, first with his coalition, then with his opposition, and define the potential substantial areas of agreement regarding Israel's approach towards achieving peace treaties with the Palestinians, Syria, and Lebanon.

For all the talk of unity, both Netanyahu and Barak exhibit a fear of agreeing too much. That fear is misplaced; there will always be enough to disagree about. Most democracies have defined borders and no existential questions on their agenda, yet they do not lack grit for political competition. Since 1967, we have become so used to thinking that questions of peace and security must define the political spectrum that we have not noticed how much that spectrum has collapsed around a consensus position.

The task remains to flesh out that consensus in a way that shifts the core of the peace and security debate out of the Israeli political maelstrom and into the negotiations with our neighbors. Netanyahu and Barak are now discovering that talking about reconciliation is good politics. It will backfire, however, if not followed up with a concerted effort to reach agreement on the substantive level.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### HAREDI GHETTOIZATION

**Sir,** — Jonathan Rosenblum says that the only segment of Jewry that will survive are the haredim. He doesn't understand that the world has developed over the last two hundred years, and is still developing, in the direction of more democracy, enlightenment, academic study and international modernity. But the haredi world moves in the direction of ghettoization, theocracy and obscurantism. Even countries like Russia, China, Japan, India and South Africa are slowly moving

### SHARANSKY'S RECEPTION

**Sir,** — I was appalled to see and hear the reaction of the crowd at Rabin Square last Saturday night to Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky when he arrived at the podium. The crowd, predominantly Labor-left-wing, booed and hissed at his speech. The Left prides itself on its self-perceived restraint. I remember its outcry when Rabin was booed at the Event of immigrants from the US. However, the difference in responses is staggering. Rabin

### word of the Torah.

My own child gives different answers. He says, "This week we learned about the dinosaurs who roamed here millions of years ago." My child continues, "Last week we learned about the French Revolution — the beginning of the modern struggle for democracy."

Jonathan Rosenblum is wrong: obscurantism will not win.

**DR. MARVIN SIDMAN**  
Tel Aviv

### SHOSHANA WEINSTEIN

capitulate and subordinate his beliefs; a Jew separated from his wife for years, waiting for permission to leave the USSR and immigrate to Israel. How short the memory of the Left and how petty their coalition loyalties in the presence of Sharansky, who is an example to all Jews, who suffered as a Jew and who is an epitome of Zionism.

**Kfar Adumim**

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

**60 years ago:** On November 14, 1937, *The Palestine Post* reported that considerable hardships were experienced by Jewish residents of Jerusalem owing to the curfew while new shooting incidents were reported in the city and throughout the country. A number of Arab Jerusalem Municipality officials were detained for one year under the Emergency Regulations.

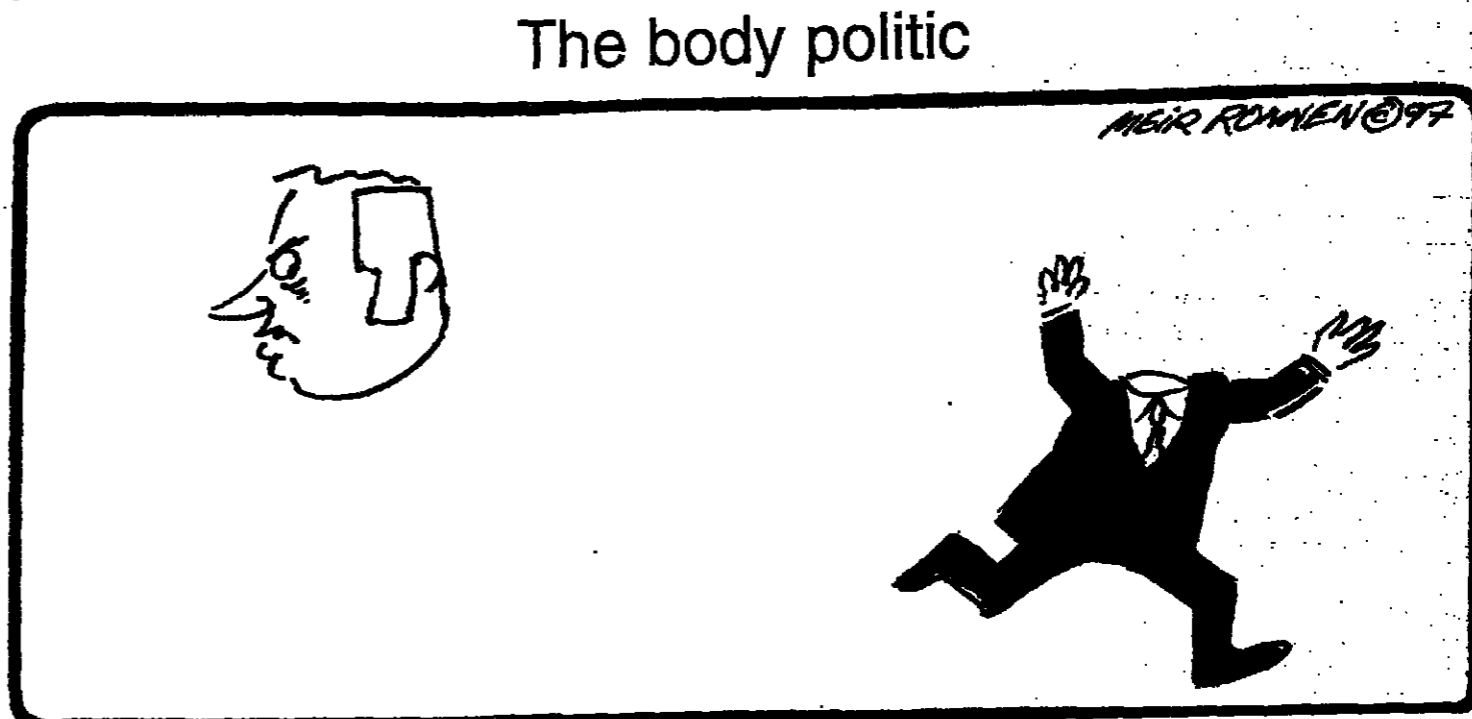
**50 years ago:** On November 14, 1947, *The Palestine Post* reported that Britain had rejected the Partition Plan. British troops would not be available for the enforcement of any UN Partition of

Palestine. Sir Alexander Cadogan, the British delegate to the UN, told the Sub-Committee on Partition. He stated, however, that he was authorized to say that the British authorities had been directed to plan for a complete withdrawal from Palestine by August 1, 1948.

**25 years ago:** On November 14, 1972, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that the London Post Office was on the biggest alert since World War II after some 50 suspect letter bombs were found.

Egypt and Libya had decided to send air defense weapons, fighter planes and pilots to Damascus in order to strengthen the Syrian air force after the previous week's border flare-ups between Syria and Israel.

Hagop Antegrossian, a 28-year-old resident of Jerusalem's Armenian Quarter was indicted in the District Court on charges of spying for the Soviet Union.



# New formulas are needed

**ZALMAN SHOVAL**

**T**hough not exactly "ships passing in the night," the meeting in London between Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu — he on his way to Indianapolis — and US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright — she heading for Qatar — can probably best be described as a necessary prelude to the main event: the soon-to-be announced Clinton-Netanyahu meeting in Washington.

Similarly, last week's meeting between Foreign Minister David Levy and the Palestinian Authority's Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) was, in effect, also "talks to prepare talks."

There is, of course, nothing wrong or gratuitous in that. On the contrary, it may well be that some recent misunderstandings in the US-Israeli relationship could have been avoided had they been better handled.

There were conflicting reports about the outcome of the Levy-Abbas meeting. PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, continuing his campaign of inviting pressure on Israel, said that while it hadn't brought about a breakthrough, it wasn't an abject failure. In fact, it was clear from the beginning that the US — trying to garner the support of its former Gulf War Arab coalition partners with the Iraqi crisis in mind (an effort which failed) — would be making an effort to give the talks at least a patina of success.

Another factor was the economic conference in Doha, the convening of which is very important to American policy makers. Perceived failure in the Washington talks wouldn't have helped things. Probably to make life more difficult for the media, the venue for the Levy-Abbas talks was moved by the Americans from Washington to Arlington, just across the Potomac. This, however, proved to be unnecessary, as the American media were preoccupied

with the Iraqi crisis and the "English nanny affair" and didn't pay too much attention to the talks.

Though some commentators referred to the meeting as some sort of "mini-Camp David," that was wide of the mark for the simple reason that the real decision-makers weren't in Arlington, nor had it been the intention of those who were to deal with the really important topics.

Levy has correctly cited the good atmosphere prevailing at the talks and, on some of the subjects discussed, there was actually a measure of progress. Having said that, however, all sides concerned, including the US, whether admitting it or not, must by now be keenly aware that the Oslo Accords have collapsed in most of their underlying premises.

They have not stopped Palestinian terrorism, or abrogated

the Palestinian Covenant, which calls for Israel's destruction, in spite of Arafat's express commitment to Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres. Instead of improving the economic lot of the Palestinians, there has actually been a dramatic deterioration in their standard of living.

OSLO can no longer be considered a relevant framework for the continuation of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. To salvage peace, new formulas, perhaps even new agreements, will have to be adopted — the sooner the better. Albright and Netanyahu, in their London meeting, and later on, the two heads of state, will have an opening to straighten out previous misunderstandings. Indeed, there is a need to shore up and reinforce mutual trust — without which there cannot be progress on the peace front.

It is important for Israel to reach a wide range of understandings with America before the all-important final-status talks with the Palestinians start, even though in certain cases, given the basic differences existing between America and Israel since 1967 on some important

issues, it won't be more than "agreeing on what to disagree."

In other words, confrontation should be avoided, or at least postponed, whenever possible. In this context, one cannot avoid mentioning the Palestinian demand that Israel stop all building in the settlements and continue with the "further redeployments" (the euphemism for further withdrawals) as a precondition for getting back to the negotiating table.

America, judging by some of the statements and leaks coming out of Washington, seems to support the Palestinian position. It is ignoring not only the less than complete Palestinian compliance with its commitment to combat terrorism and to dismantle its infrastructure, but also the contradiction between the plan to discuss all outstanding issues and asking Israel to continue withdrawing from territories under the previous interim agreements.

As a long-time observer of US-Israeli relations, I can bear evidence that Israel's support in Congress is as solid as ever. Its standing with American public opinion in general, including that of the Jewish community, is not as bad as it is sometimes depicted — though there is certainly room for improvement.

But as important as these factors are, one must always remember that, in the final reckoning, US foreign policy is mainly made by the administration, not by anyone else.

*The writer is a former ambassador to the US and currently head of the Likud's Foreign Relations Bureau.*

# Get out of Lebanon

**NAOMI CHAZAN**

**T**he pace of political life here is so intense that, of apparent necessity, public attention jumps rapidly from one crisis to another, and virtually no issue receives the systematic attention it deserves. This is particularly true of the Israeli-Lebanese conundrum, which arouses periodic, albeit all-too-superficial, debate when soldiers are killed, Katyushas are fired, or civilians are victimized. During these brief spurts of attention, however, opinions are never fully aired, and the subject is quickly relegated to the back burner.

Precisely because the issue of our presence in Lebanon was not in the headlines this week, it is timely to reassess the underlying rationale and suggest that the time is ripe for withdrawal to the international boundary.

Current policy rests on the assumption that while we have no territorial aspirations in Lebanon, we are forced to remain in the security zone because of the absence of alternatives. Such an approach rests on shaky logical ground. It is therefore vital to carefully scrutinize the justifications for the "no choice" policy that has guided consecutive governments over the past 15 years and embroiled the country in an ongoing, low-intensity war.

The first, and most pervasive, rationale is security. The security zone was purportedly created to defend the safety of our northern settlements. But time and again, residents of the North have been imperiled. Why would withdrawal to the international boundary be less defensible?

Hizbullah claims its goal is to free Lebanon of foreign occupation, although many suggest that this is only the first phase of a campaign to eliminate Israel. Why, then, should Hizbullah and its extremist Islamic ideology be feared?

Hizbullah claims its goal is to free Lebanon of foreign occupation, although many suggest that this is only the first phase of a campaign to eliminate Israel. Why, then, should Hizbullah and its extremist Islamic ideology be feared?

cal climate of Lebanon, political motives constantly change; they cannot justify occupation.

Finally, only if the security and political arguments are accepted is it possible to address the third rationale, the human one. The price in lives of our soldiers is appalling. Since 1982, more than 1,200 soldiers have been killed in Lebanon, over 600 since the establishment of the security zone in 1985. It is not easy to defend the human cost of our presence in Lebanon, nor to find ways of helping society tolerate the steady stream of casualties.

Those who maintain that Israel has no choice but to stay in southern Lebanon must be aware that they are sentencing dozens of soldiers to death each year. On a fundamental humanitarian level, this realization demands a responsible quest for viable alternatives.

The bitter irony underlying the current discussion is that those interested in withdrawal are accused of basing their conclusions on emotion rather than reason. This charge is patently false.

Maybe, under scrutiny, it is argumentation in support of continued involvement in Lebanon that is intellectually sloppy, practically unachievable and, at root, oddly and anachronistically emotional.

We can hardly expect those responsible for constructing our policy — on the Right and on the Left — to readily admit that they, too, are pursuing this policy will freely question it. We can, however, not only demand, but also initiate, a thoughtful reassessment and, ultimately, a change in this policy.

The time has come for a continuous, broad-based, and serious discussion of our Lebanese policy. The time has come to get out of Lebanon.

*The writer is a Meretz MK and deputy speaker of the Knesset.*

## POSTSCRIPT

**WILL MOTORIZED** in-line skates be the next thing to sweep the market? Does the public really want special underwear that promises to improve blood circulation?

Entrepreneurs from around the world gathered in Pasadena for the 11th annual Invention Convention, hoping to lure investors with a bewildering array of gadgets.

box but half of a Christmas tree. After all, most people only see one side of a tree, the maker argues.

Less perennial was the Eco Toilet, a foldable, camouflaged, cardboard potty that can be packed flat in camping gear. It sells for \$14.95.

For exercise without too much work there were Power Blades, motorized in-line skates controlled by a hand-held throttle. The \$699 contraption sports a small, noisy

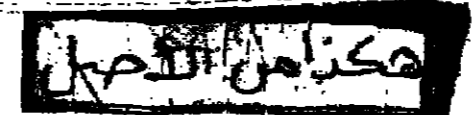
engine strapped to one skate. The skates can do 30 kph.

The Plo Power Health Stockings and Socks are made from mineral fiber that the promoter said increases oxygen to the body in order to relieve stress.

Got a bad back? The \$5,000 Enestone Bed (from energy and stone) has 12 layers of protective film and marble surrounding a copper and carbon heating system.

infrared rays and anion salutory for the human body so that a comfortable and healthy body can be maintained with good metabolism and recruitment," said Hyong Woo Lee, of Seoul.

Then there was something called Dawn 808, a South Korean-invented tea for people who overindulge. At \$5 a can, the tea purports to guarantee relief from headache, vomiting and fatigue due to hangovers.



Vertical text on the far right edge of the page, likely from an adjacent page or a sidebar, including the words "THE SO..." and "Price MS 41...".



# Europe needs a code of conduct

GERALD M. STEINBERG

During his visit, Jacques Poos, the current president of the European Union, pressed the Foreign Ministry to accept a "code of conduct" in negotiations with the Palestinians. Such a code would include pledges to abstain from unilateral actions (like building new settlements or expanding existing ones) and to exchange information on terrorism and security.

Although such a code may be a good idea, the EU and its officials are in no position to tell others, particularly Israelis, how to conduct their foreign policy.

The Western Europeans (including most members of the EU) were primarily responsible for selling Saddam Hussein the technology and materials for his weapons of mass destruction. French arms manufacturers made billions of francs selling him arms and electronics; the Germans sold the materials and facilities for his nuclear program; the British turned a blind eye when Saddam built his "super-gun" from parts made in England; Belgium allowed the sale of materials for chemical

THE "critical dialogue" that the EU claimed to have conducted with Teheran was a farce - a monologue with the Europeans doing all the talking. A few months ago, a French company (Total) joined a Russian firm (Gazprom) in a multi-billion agreement to develop Iranian oil fields. As a result, Iran will have an even bigger budget to acquire missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

At the same time, the European Union has sought to play a more visible and central role in the Arab-Israeli negotiations. Like the Americans, the EU appointed its own "special negotiator," Miguel Moratinos, to shuttle back and forth between capitals. But for all of his efforts, Moratinos has achieved very little.

In addition to the mainly French support for Iran and Iraq, which scours any dialogue with Israel, the EU has continued its strongly pro-Palestinian approach to the peace process. A few years ago (during the tenure of the Labor government), the EU adopted a policy that requires its top officials visiting Israel to also pay a call at Orient House. Since this policy,



# 'Give us a king'

MARK A. HELLER

One morning this week, many Likud ministers and MKs woke up and discovered that their leader has a credibility problem. This puts them in very distinguished company - people like Bill Clinton, Hosni Mubarak, and King Hussein have already reached the same conclusion. The only difference is that it took the Likud luminaries a lot longer to catch on - or at least to acknowledge it publicly.

This is a bit surprising, since they have known Binyamin Netanyahu far longer and more intimately than any of those foreign leaders. But not until the Likud convention did understanding come. Is it possible that all these veterans of countless political wars really did not know? If so, it does not speak well for their intelligence. Perhaps they did know, but were in denial, and only broke out of it on International Depression Day. And perhaps they knew all along, but - with two notable exceptions - just didn't care enough to do anything about it.

For 18 months, these worthies generally stood by while their leader's credibility problem soured relations with Egypt, Jordan, the Palestinians, the American government, and American Jews. A few of them politely demurred; many of them muttered misgivings to journalists and other confidantes - deep background, off the record, not for citation or attribution - but none of them got up and publicly sounded the alarm. Until this week.

So what happened at the convention to bring about the epiphany?

Do not look for the explanation in unbridgeable ideological differences about peace or security policy or social equity or economic restructuring or religion and the state. Those questions were not even raised. The explanation is that the leader proposed a change in party procedures - the cancellation of primaries - that would strip them all of any vestige of independent political standing.

When those who were not already his lapdogs rose up in anguished

protest, the leader promised that he would retract the proposal, but he then discovered, despite his most sincere effort, that he just couldn't carry through on his promise.

If all this were simply a morality play, the rest of us might easily interpret it in terms of poetic justice - the only thing that energized the ruling party politicians enough to protest was a threat to their own personal interest, so they got what they deserved. But the manner in which this happened should be of real concern to the audience as well.

WHAT Netanyahu has done to the Likud elite is perfectly consistent with his profound antipathy to every other elite in our society - the press, the judicial establishment, the intellectuals, and even the top echelons of the security establishment. To consolidate his power, he has contracted an alliance with the mob, represented in this case by the central committee, whose purpose is to pulverize all the intermediary layers that stand between leader and mass society.

In return for their adoration, their

loyalist blood, and just because it didn't work before, in the Bar-On Affair, doesn't mean that it can't work in the future.

At this stage, no coercion is used to give the prime minister more power. And none is yet needed, since "the people" - central committee, party members, and large numbers of voters - are still willing partners. But this is a route whose last station is clear: plebiscitary democracy and elections in which the leader gets 99.4% of the vote and can do whatever he wants (or vice versa). Unless this route is blocked, Israel may not even need a successful peace process to be integrated into the region.

As for almost everything else, there is a cautionary tale for this danger in the Bible that Netanyahu and his minions profess to hold so dear.

Once upon a time, another mob cried out to have a king. In response, Samuel conveyed God's warning to the people that asked him for a king. "The king," said Samuel, "will take your sons... and he will take your daughters... and he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive groves... and he will take the tenth of your seed... the tenth of your flock; and he shall be his servants... And you will cry out in that day because of your king whom you have chosen; and the Lord will not answer you." Of course, there's no mystery about the rest of the story. "But the people refused to heedken unto the voice of Samuel, and they said: 'Nay, but there shall be a king over us... that we may be like all the nations...'"

Of course, it is impossible to be like all the nations, because there are so many different types. But one of those types reared its head at the Likud convention. Could that be the real fear that many of the party's own leaders suddenly felt this week?

The writer is senior research associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University.

# The EU is in no position to tell others, particularly Israelis, how to conduct their foreign policy

weapons production, etc.

But it seems that Europe as a whole and France, in particular, have learned little from this "unfortunate episode." Without any visible hesitation, the French government continues policies that encourage Saddam in his efforts to evade the terms of 1991 cease-fire agreement and Security Council Resolution 687, which require Iraq to destroy all of its weapons of mass destruction and technology.

Six-and-a-half years after his defeat and surrender, Saddam still has biological and chemical weapons, is hiding some Scud missiles, and has secretly sought to manufacture additional missiles.

Whenever the inspectors from the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) seem to make progress in uncovering more of these hidden activities, the Iraqis move in to harass and stop them. The only leverage on Saddam is the threat of additional sanctions or military attack, but when the Security Council met to consider its response, France joined Russia in blocking the American and British proposals.

The hotels in Baghdad host an increasing number of French and other European officials and businessmen, for whom the allure of Iraqi oil money overwhelms the threats posed by Saddam's efforts to revive his destructive power.

With respect to Iran, the members of the EU are more united, but their policies are no less irresponsible. Despite the violent Iranian opposition to the peace process, support for terrorism, and efforts to follow the Iraqi path toward acquiring missiles and weapons of mass destruction, Europe has provided billions of dollars in credits,

which would have been a further step in the revision of Jerusalem, was clearly unacceptable to Israel, subsequent visits have been less than entirely official.

The EU has also attempted to use economic pressure to force Israel to make political concessions (even though it has a major trade surplus with Israel). After difficult negotiations, Israel and the EU finally signed a trade agreement which includes reciprocal exemptions from customs duties (the EU had already signed similar agreements with other Mediterranean countries).

Now, the EU is taking action to block implementation by alleging that Israel exported orange juice that was not, in fact, produced in Israel. The allegations and demand for payment of \$54 million in penalties concern events that took place years ago and are of minor importance, and the EU acted unilaterally. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the motives are again political and have nothing to do with justice.

Instead of preaching, sending special envoys, and pressing for acceptance of a "code of conduct," the European Union might start with developing a moral code for its own members. The first step should be a complete ban on economic transactions with states or regimes that follow a policy of destruction and warfare, that provide material support for terrorism, and that are spending billions to acquire terror weapons.

And instead of blocking trade and seeking million of dollars from Israel for orange juice, the EU should be paying Israel far more in compensation for the European contribution to the Iraqi missile program.

The writer directs the Arms Control Project at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University.

# Court run amok

JONATHAN ROSENBLUM

When my favorite law school professor wanted to express his contempt for judicial opinions devoid of legal reasoning he would conjure up a picture of a corpulent mideastern potentate seated under a palm tree dispensing justice according to his own lights. Kadi justice he called it. And Kadi justice is what we have in Israel today.

Our Supreme Court no longer feels the need to justify its usurpation of the decision-making authority of the legislative and executive branches or to offer any rational for its decisions other than "We say so." A case in point is its recent order that Educational TV air a show in which four teenage homosexuals discuss their sexual preferences.

Minister of Education Zevulun Hammer, relying on a panel of experts, had determined that the show should be made more balanced before it was shown on Educational TV. But a three-judge panel of the Supreme Court, including President Aharon Barak, simply substituted its judgment for that of Hammer and ordered the program broadcast.

The entirety of Justice Kedmi's brief opinion for the unanimous

panel just took for granted its right to review every government decision and to substitute its judgment for that of the official to whom responsibility is delegated. That is government by judicial fiat pure and simple.

THE American Legal Realists of the 1920s (much beloved by Justice Barak) posited that the result in any case is simply a function of the judge's ideology and prejudices. However dubious that observation was with respect to the American legal system, it perfectly describes the current Supreme Court. If one knows the justices' political views, one can predict with almost hundred percent accuracy the outcome in any given case.

The justices are, completely result oriented. Institutional concerns about the role of a judiciary in a democratic society never restrain them in their headlong rush to reach what they deem the most beneficial result for society. They assume without question their right to serve as ombudsmen over the unenlightened hoi polloi.

Justice Kedmi and his colleagues are sympathetic to homosexuals. So they created a "right of free expression" to

# The Supreme Court is doing nothing more than imposing its particular values on society

force Israel TV to show programs positively portraying homosexuality.

The court did not even acknowledge what it was doing. Even these Warren Court wannabes know that no country in the world has recognized a "right" for any identifiable subgroup in society to have its views aired on public TV. The First Amendment of the American Constitution, for instance, protects against government abridgment of free speech. It is defensive in nature. It does not grant any citizen the right to have the government or privately-owned media promulgate his views.

The justices themselves do not even believe in the right they implicitly discovered. It just happened to be the means to reach the desired result in this case.

Imagine that a group calling itself the Committee for Media Fairness to Haredim produced an interview with four haredi teenagers discussing their lives. And now imagine Educational TV refused to broadcast the show. Does anyone dream that the Supreme Court would grant the committee standing to challenge the decision of the broadcast authority or order the program shown? The committee would more likely be assessed court costs for filing a frivolous suit.

That hypothetical case conveys some sense of the extent to which the court is doing nothing more than imposing its particular values on society. They are taking advantage of the public's long-standing apathy and, as an oligarchy lacking all judicial craftsmanship and without any sense of limits on its own power, forces its "enlightened" views upon us.

The writer, a Jerusalem Post columnist, is a graduate of Yale Law School and has published in legal journals.

panel can be summarized in his glib observation that teenage homosexuality exists and hiding our head in the sand will not make it go away. Without a shred of evidence, the court assumed that a positive portrayal of homosexuality could have no impact on its incidence. (Not that the justices would have cared if it did.) Thus even as pop psychologists, the justices showed themselves to be inept.

Even a cursory glance at societies from ancient Athens, where homosexuality was ubiquitous among upper-class males, to the Orthodox Jewish world, in which, according to the Kinsey Report, it is almost unknown, shows how socially conditioned homosexuality is.

Apart from Israel's Supreme Court under Justice Barak, most judges in democratic countries are sensitive to the inherent tension between democratic government and judicial review by unelected justices. Thus in reviewing administrative decisions of elected officials or administrative agencies, judges are careful to make clear that they are not substituting their own ab initio judgment for that of the official upon whom responsibility for making the decision is conferred.

A court reviewing an administrative law decision typically begins with a lengthy description of the statutory grant of authority to the decision-maker; the factors he is directed to consider, the procedures he is to follow, the degree of discretion given him. Next the judge will turn to the scope of judicial review and the standard to be applied by the court in evaluating the administrative decision. Usually such decisions will be reversed only if they are arbitrary or capricious.

Israel's Supreme Court, however, felt constrained to undertake none of these inquiries. Justice Kedmi did not even bother to cite one statute or prece-

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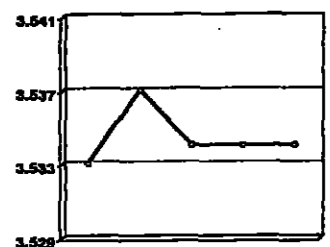
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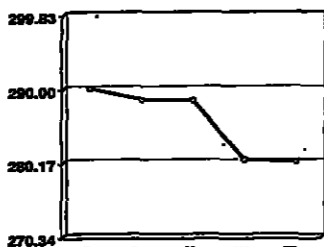
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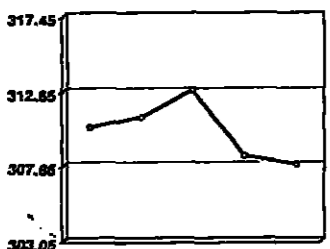


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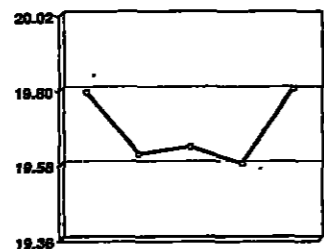
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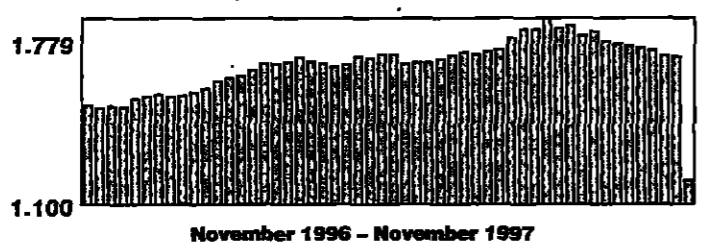


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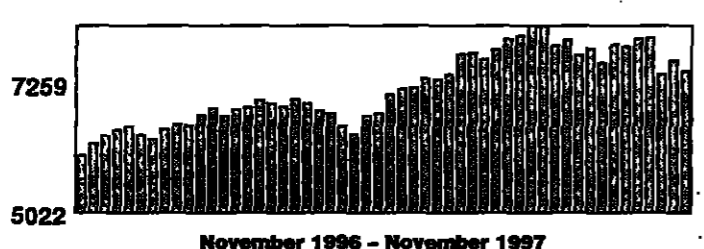
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### Israel-Egypt tourism slumps in first half

There was a considerable drop in the number of tourists traveling between Israel and Egypt in the first half of the year, compared to the equivalent period in 1996, according to figures published yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics.

Some 6,500 Egyptians visited Israel between January and June, a 38 percent decline, with 135,200 Israelis traveling to Egypt, down 13%.

During the first six months of the year, 19,700 entered from Jordan, a 1% drop compared to the first half of last year, while 79,200 Israelis visited Jordan, a similar figure to that for last year's period.

More than 50% of tourists from Egypt arrived here via Eilat and another 40% through Rafah. These figures represent a turnaround on the same period last year, in which more than 50% entered through Rafah and 43% through Eilat.

Of all visitors from Jordan, 63% crossed at the Sheikh Hussein Bridge, down 3% in actual numbers on last year, with 34% arriving via the Allenby Bridge, a 6% increase. The number of Israelis leaving for Jordan through the Arava crossing fell 4% and by the Sheikh Hussein Bridge by 3%.

Of Israelis traveling to Egypt, 94% left from Eilat bound for Sinai, a 10% drop on the figure from last year. *Davis Harris*

## Bezeq flotation could be delayed

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

The government's flotation of a 7 percent to 10% stake in Bezeq Ltd., planned for later this month, may be postponed as a result of allegations that its long-distance subsidiary employed unfair pricing tactics, Tzipi Livni, director-general of the Government Companies Authority, said yesterday.

Earlier this week, Antitrust Authority director-general David Tadmor issued a report stating that Bezeq International implemented policies with the intention of "misleading the public regarding pricing."

"We have to address several issues on the drawing board and so the flotation may not happen by the end of the month," Livni said. "One of the things we're working on with the Israel Securities Authority is the issue of Bezeq International."

Tadmor's 35-page report, delivered to Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein and other government officials, incriminated Bezeq International's top executives for "blurring" their tariffs. Rubinstein now



Government Companies Authority director-general Tzipi Livni



Communications Minister Limor Livnat

must decide whether to prosecute. Minister of Industry and Trade Natan Sharansky said he will investigate whether the pricing practices breached consumer

protection law. If so, he said he will bring the case to magistrate's court. On Wednesday, Communications Minister Limor Livnat told the Knesset that

her ministry had suspected that Bezeq International might be implementing unfair trade practices.

"We followed them enough and we used our authority regarding Bezeq, and there were things that we thought might damage competition or mislead the public," she said.

Meanwhile, several lawyers issued a NIS 52 million class-action suit against the company in Beersheba District Court.

"Bezeq International confused the public into thinking its prices were lower than they were," said Ori Stendel, one of the lawyers who served the suit. "The fact that people thought the prices were lower hurt them doubly, because not only was this unfair to the consumer, but when you think the prices are low, you talk longer on the phone."

The flotation, which is scheduled to take place on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, is part of the government's plan to reduce its holding in Bezeq Ltd. from 65% to 52% by the end of the year.

In July, investment house Merrill Lynch purchased 12.4% of the company's shares.

## Greenspan: Asia turmoil no threat to US

By MICHAEL MCKEE

Continuing economic turmoil in Asia doesn't yet pose a threat to the US economy, though it's likely to cut US corporate profits. Federal Reserve Board chairman Alan Greenspan said yesterday.

"To date, the direct impact of these developments on the American economy has been modest, but it can be expected not to be negligible," Greenspan said in testimony being delivered to the House Banking Committee.

The Fed chairman said that depending on the extent of the slowdown in Asia, "the growth of our exports will tend to be muted." Although direct US corporate investment and earnings from the region are smaller than the US share of exports, "the share is, nonetheless, large enough to expect some drop off in those earnings in the period ahead."

In addition, Greenspan said there will be "indirect effects on the US real economy from countries such as Japan that compete even more extensively with the economies in the Asian region." Separately, he said turbulence in Latin American markets may reflect contagion effects from Asia or home-grown causes. However, "this phenomenon illustrates the interdependencies in today's world economy and financial systems," he said.

Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers also said he sees no "significant risk to United States financial institutions or to domestic financial stability as a whole as a result of the turbulence to date. However, a 'great many uncertainties remain,' he said, including the extent to which growth slows in Asia and the

effect of the depreciation of Asian currencies, along with the impact on Japan - and what that does to US exports.

"As a result, the direct and indirect trade impact on our economy of a prolonged period of slower growth in Southeast Asia, and the large decline in its currencies, is potentially significant," Summers said.

While Summers said he agrees with Greenspan's October 29 assessment that the impact on the US economy will be "modest, but not negligible," that will "depend heavily on stability being restored as soon as possible." Summers said speculative attacks on Asian currencies didn't trigger the crisis.

"These flows were driven by domestic investors losing confidence in their own country's currency and seeking to diversify their holdings," he said.

He also repeated the US position that the International Monetary Fund should play the primary role in international efforts to stabilize Asian economies. And he called on Congress to request a Clinton administration approval for additional IMF funding.

House and Senate negotiators agreed last night to a \$13.1 billion foreign aid budget stripped of billions of dollars for the United Nations and IMF after a fight largely driven by the divisive domestic politics of abortion.

Republicans want the administration to accept tougher anti-abortion restrictions on US-backed overseas family planning programs, which would receive \$385 million in the bill, and by withholding provisions to give the IMF \$3.5 billion and the UN \$926 million. (Bloomberg)

## Gov't, Channel 2 agree on new channel

By HELEN KAYE

Communications Minister Limor Livnat and the Second Television and Radio Authority Council have announced their cooperation on the establishment of a new commercial TV channel by the end of 1999.

After almost being at each other's throats over STRA's right, under the Second Authority Broadcast Law, to determine a time frame for the renewal of its franchisees' licenses, the breakthrough came "when Livnat understood that we have no problem with another commercial channel," said STRA general manager Nahman Shai. "All we want is to run Channel 2 as permitted us by law."

For her part, Livnat said that the clause in the economic arrangements bill dealing with the Channel 2 franchise renewals could be voided if there were an understanding among all parties that the new commercial station

can be up and running by the end of 1999.

The clause would have put off by several months next year's deadline by which the STRA is to decide whether or not to extend the current franchisees, held by Reshet, Keshet and Tel-Ad, for another four years from 1999, when the franchises are set to expire.

The STRA, Livnat's office, and the Cable and Satellite Channel Council and others will meet to create a framework for such a channel. The same body, headed by STRA Council head Prof. Gideon Doron, will consolidate principles that will enable the establishment of a National Broadcast Authority as recommended by the Peled Commission Report last June.

Tenders are expected to be issued by the end of next year, said Shai, adding that "another commercial channel can only be good for the consumer, for business and for the industry."

## Barak named as best long-distance phone company

Barak has been rated by the consumer magazine *Obyektiv* as the all-around best and cheapest overseas dialing service, compared to Bezeq International and Golden Lines.

The third issue of the consumer magazine notes that Barak's pricing schedule is free of linkage deals.

"Barak offers a unified schedule, without machinations, small print, confusing offers or registration

subscribers. They don't charge very expensive rates for calls to certain places in the world."

*Obyektiv* also praises the company for its central operators' quick response to queries; they respond within an average of four seconds. *Judy Siegel*

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## Israel, China sign agriculture pact

By DAVID HARRIS

Israel and China on Wednesday signed an agricultural agreement paving the way for greater cooperation between the two countries.

The agreement, signed by Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan and his counterpart Liu Jianguo, will lead to increased exports to China of agricultural produce, technology, and investment, ministry Director-General Danny Krichman said yesterday.

The agreement, based on talks in May when Eitan visited Beijing, includes the establishment of a joint research and development center in China and a joint research fund (the sum to be contributed by the partners has yet to be fixed). Additionally, an experimental flower-producing area will be set up in China. Israeli companies are already beginning work on the flower project.

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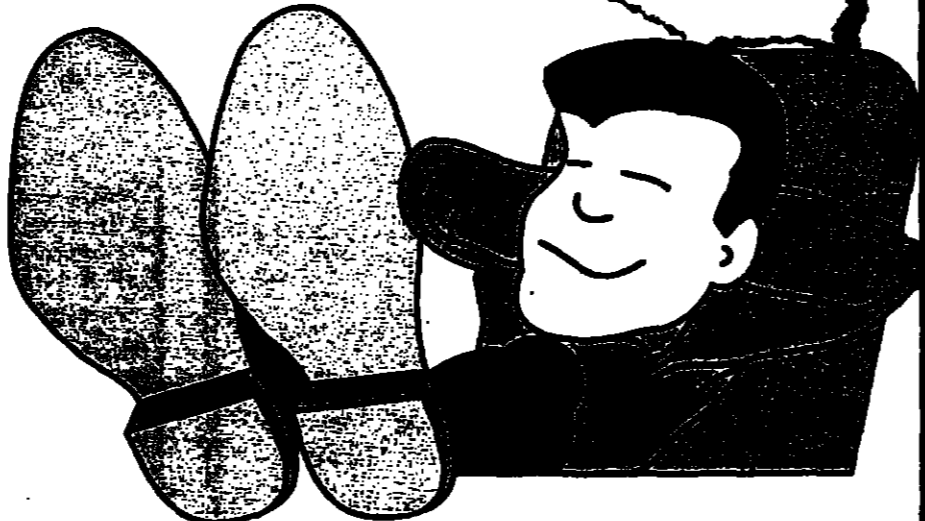
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Name and address of winner:	Hayozzer Electro Mechanical Works, Kiryat Bialik
Date of decision:	September 23, 1997
Value of winning tender:	\$598,025
Lowest bid:	\$598,025
Highest bid:	\$695,706

3. Subject and scope of tender:	No. 610897 - Supply of Network Transformers Tender No. 521015 - 1,135 transformers
Name and address of winner:	Tender No. 548476 - 3,117 transformers Ardan, Yokneam
Date of decision:	September 15, 1997
Value of winning tender:	\$27,127,385
Lowest bid for Tender No. 521015:	\$8,200,000
Lowest bid for Tender No. 548476:	\$19,000,000

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## The cost of victory



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu acknowledges the applause of Likud activists at the party convention this week. (AP)

### Netanyahu may have outmaneuvered his bitter ministers, but what impact will the tumultuous Likud convention have on the party rank-and-file? Herb Keinon reports

Looking like a union organizer firing up the workers, the generally staid Likud MK Uzi Landau leapt on a chair on the lawn of the Tel Aviv fairgrounds at the Likud convention Tuesday night and began berating his own party.

"The Likud is sick, very sick," Landau shouted, to replies of "yes!" and "right!"

"There is a serious rift between the party activists and the leaders," says Landau.

"The party wakes up only just before elections, and after that it falls into a deep sleep. Its institutions have become democratic only in name, and the activists are not involved. The activists are the ones who brought us victory, let's not go like sheep to the slaughter."

The activists, embodied by the 2,700 members of the feisty central committee that took back the party's power this week, are certainly not following like sheep. But their power grab, in which they gave themselves the responsibility for choosing the party's Knesset slate, as well as giving the party's institutions much more control over Likud policy, could very well be responsible for the slaughter.

"The Likud," said MK Ze'ev (Benny) Begin in a furious attack a day after the convention, "is being run by a group of power-hungry, power-intoxicated, unrestrained people, headed by a man who misled and deceived his colleagues."

The picture is not pretty. Although Netanyahu may well be able to ride through threats by bitter ministers and renegade MKs to topple him or split up the party, the tumultuous events of the convention have left a sour aftertaste in the mouths of the party's rank-and-file who - in the final analysis - are the ones who cast the ballots.

Louis Lipsky is a Jerusalem Likud activist with Knesset aspirations. Lipsky ran in the last primaries and finished 77th, way down on

the list (the Likud won only 22 places on its joint Likud-Gesher-Tsomet list) but high enough to give the 37-year-old business consultant a desire to try again. The primaries were his vehicle. The decision to do away with them has left him feeling very much out in the cold.

"My way is through the primaries," Lipsky said. "My hope is to take my case to the public, who

can then vote for whoever they want. But the central committee members won't vote for whoever they want; they get instructions from the different camps. Only 20 people will end up determining the list, and they are not interested in people like me."

According to Lipsky, the primaries were a perfect vehicle to break up the dominance of party hacks, and to spread the party's

net far and wide. Now that's over. Lipsky has petitioned the party's internal court against the decision to trash the primaries, maintaining that this central committee cannot make changes that go into effect while it is still serving. This, he said, would be the equivalent of Knesset members voting to extend their term by a year, to be effective immediately, not with the next Knesset.

Lipsky said that if the court challenge doesn't work, a shadow party - a Likud 2 - will go ahead and hold primaries in an attempt to force the mother party's hand.

A true Netanyahu believer, Lipsky does not hold the goings-on at the Likud convention against his leader. "I don't think Bibi was behind it," he said. "I don't think it is to Bibi's advantage. I think he is doing a fantastic job as prime minister, and should be judged by his job as prime minister, not whether we are pleased with his performance as chairman of party. That is irrelevant to whether we need him as the prime minister of Israel."

If Lipsky has seen his long-shot Knesset aspirations dashed, Roni L., an Efrat resident who didn't want his last name used for fear that what he says may somehow be used against his place of employment, is one of the tens of thousands of people who signed up for the Likud in 1995 in order to vote in the primaries. Yesterday he called his bank and ordered it to stop his standing order to pay Likud dues.

"I joined the party before the last elections, when Netanyahu started to pick the Likud up from off the floor," he said. "But now I'm through. I refuse to be a member of a party that is being run by hacks, charlatans, and people interested only in power." Roni said that it is clear the central committee rebellion is about jobs, patronage and perks.

### Primary history

The Likud convention's decision to throw the nomination of its Knesset list back to the central committee rolls back a democratization process that began in the country's major parties in 1977.

Up to then the country's two big parties had picked their candidates via a small nominating committee inside their central committees.

These nominating committees - numbering around 20 - would sit down and, after looking at the various sectors that need to be represented, thrash out a list. It was quintessential backroom politics.

The Likud initiated a revolution of sorts in 1977, when it opened up the process to the entire central committee by way of a convoluted system called "sepiets." The upshot was that instead of 20 people selecting

the list, it would now be selected by the whole committee.

Labor, seeing the Likud's success in the elections of that year, followed suit. (Some of the smaller parties, such as Mapam and Ahdut Ha'avoda, had already opened the process to the central committees in the mid-1960s.) In 1992, Labor decided to "out-democratize Likud, and opted for the system whereby the list would not be picked by the central committee, but rather by the party's entire membership in "primaries," a term borrowed from the American political system.

Seeing Labor's success in the 1992 elections, and how the primaries seemed to reinvigorate the party, it was the Likud - with Binyamin Netanyahu's urging - that followed suit this time and initiated primaries that determined the slate for the 1996 list. -E.K.

## The dim view from Beit Shemesh

### Dan Izenberg visits a Likud stronghold and finds residents disillusioned and angry with the party leadership

It looks like Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his right-hand man, Avigdor Lieberman, by reportedly arranging for this week's Likud Party convention to do away with the party primaries, have created the proper conditions for a Likud faction of highly disciplined lackeys in the next Knesset. But if party stronghold Beit Shemesh is anything to go by, they may find their faction sitting on the opposition benches.

Netanyahu and Lieberman were shrewd enough to understand the true balance of power between the glittering leadership of the party, and the group of anonymous activists comprising the party convention. But in focusing all their attention on the constitutional weakness of the ministers, Netanyahu, Lieberman and the activists may have forgotten to look over their shoulders at the rank-and-file membership which empowered all of them in the first place.

If an unscientific series of interviews is indicative of anything, it shows that even in this Likud bastion, which gave 78 percent of the vote to Netanyahu in 1996, where political feeling is usually more emotional than analytical, Netanyahu and Lieberman have alienated some of their most loyal backers.

To put things in perspective, there are about 1,500 paid-up Likud members in Beit Shemesh, out of a total population of some 30,000. The straw poll showed that of nine Likud party members or supporters spoken to, three have quit or will quit the party over the cancellation of the primaries or related issues, a fourth favors restoring power to the central committee but will vote against Netanyahu if Ze'ev (Benny) Begin or Dan Meridor runs against him, a fifth opposes the decision but supports Foreign Minister David Levy anyway, Minister David Levy anyway, two favor primaries but will accept any convention decision, and two don't care about the issue and will remain loyal to the Likud under all circumstances.

Moshe Cohen, who owns a lottery outlet in the town's commercial center, plans to "send his Likud membership card to the Prime Minister's Office by registered mail."

Cohen said the decision to abolish the primaries "is a blow. If there are no primaries, we are being cast aside. I feel personally hurt."

Cohen said the decision to choose the list of MKs via primaries had been a progressive move.

"Now we are going backwards to the central committee and the 'panel of seven' system. No one asked us our opinion or consulted with us. The members of the convention want power, nothing more."

"I have always voted Likud. This time, if they abolish the primaries, they will lose me and many other people I know, who feel the same way I do."

As if to back up that statement, a friend of Cohen's joined the discussion and said that he, too, planned to return his party membership card.

"All the members of the convention want to use their positions for personal gain," he said, declining to identify himself.

Motti Amar, 41, stopped paying his Likud membership dues three months ago and says he is no longer involved in the party's intrigues. That doesn't mean he doesn't have an opinion on the current controversy, however.

"I'm against canceling the primaries because it is the best way of choosing the party candidates," said Amar. "The members of the convention want to give themselves the power to choose whoever they want."

Amar likes Netanyahu, but says those around the prime minister are ruining things.

"They are telling Netanyahu what to do," he explained. "As a result, he has abandoned party veterans like [Foreign Minister David] Levy, [National Infrastructure Minister Ariel] Sharon, and [Tourism Minister Moshe] Katsav in favor of newcomers like Yvette [Avigdor] Lieberman, who are setting the tone. I no longer support the Likud."

The most outspoken opponent of the decision to abolish the primaries was Geshet supporter Avner Edri, whose choices in the coming election, whether he likes it or not, have been affected by the convention decision.



Eduard Assis (right) still backs the premier: 'I voted for Netanyahu. Let him decide whatever he wants.' (Ariel Jerolimski)

"In the primaries system, not all the power is concentrated in one person's hands," said Edri. "But once the decision is given to the central committee, the party will become a dictatorship. One

**'If there are no primaries, we are being cast aside,' said long-term Likud member Moshe Cohen. 'I feel personally hurt.'**

happen from now on? Everyone will come fawning to Lieberman and whatever he says, will go. That's called dictatorship."

NOT EVERYONE in Beit Shemesh takes as grave a view of the issue as Edri.

"Today, everyone in the country is arguing about something or other," said 31-year-old Haim Cohen. "Everyone wants to be prime minister, so everyone is arguing. It's the same in the Labor Party."

Cohen said that even though he is a Likud Party member, "it won't bother me if I can't vote in primaries. It makes no difference to me. I support the Likud."

Meir Elias, 54, cares about the primaries, but not enough to leave the Likud.

"Of all the possible systems one can conceive of, the primaries are the best," said Elias. "But I have always supported the Likud and I always will - even if they take away my right to choose the MKs."

Eduard Assis, 55, says it's the prime minister's prerogative to decide what kind of system

should be used to choose the MKs.

"I voted for Netanyahu," said Assis. "Let him decide whatever he wants. That's the way it should be."

Not surprisingly, the most ardent defendants in Beit Shemesh of the convention's decision to abolish the primaries are activists higher up in the Likud hierarchy. One of them is Eli Butbul, former central committee member and current aide to Beit Shemesh Mayor Daniel Vaknin.

Butbul believes that the decision to abolish the primaries is part of the cleaning-up act that Netanyahu launched four years ago, when he was elected party chairman.

"People are fed up with the infighting in the Likud," said Butbul. "In 1993, the feeling was that we lost the election only because of the discord within the party. The Likud elected a leader and he should be allowed to lead."

According to Butbul, some Likud MKs and ministers have not learned the lessons of the

1992 election defeat and have tried to undermine Netanyahu by attacking in public policies adopted by the government majority.

"Everyone does whatever he

**'Once the decision is given to the central committee, the party will become a dictatorship,' said Geshet supporter Avner Edri.'**

feels like, even when it goes against the prime minister," said Butbul. "But, in fact, the prime minister is first among equals."

Butbul believes that those who criticize government policy are motivated by nothing more than self-interest.

"They go over the heads of the prime minister and the movement in order to tell the 200,000 Likud voters that they are different," he said. "In doing so, they

know they will get a few headlines in the newspaper."

He rejects the accusations that the convention members want to retrieve power in order to gain lucrative jobs and influence for themselves.

"Maybe there are one or two people who think that way, but I am talking about national considerations," said Butbul. "We have to create the conditions which will make people behave properly."

BUTBUL DENIED the Lieberman controlled the convention members and could make them do whatever he pleased.

"They are independent thinkers, not a flock of sheep," he said.

He also denied that the decision to abolish the primaries and hand the power of choosing the list of MKs to the central committee was an anti-democratic move.

Butbul said that at the grass-roots level of party activity - in Beit Shemesh, like everywhere else - the more active and ambitious party members recruited their friends so that when they ran for office, they would have their own supporters to vote for them.

"This means that the members of the central committee are the authentic representatives of the party membership," said Butbul.

Moshe Cohen, the man who plans to return his party membership card, found Butbul's explanation simplistic.

"I tried to get elected to the central committee, but I dropped out when I saw that I was confronted with a political mafia," said Cohen.

In fact, by Butbul's own account, there were no elections in Beit Shemesh in 1993 for the list of party branch leaders or central committee representatives.

"The Beit Shemesh branch of the Likud is one of the most unified in the country," he said. "Many things are done by consensus. There are no wars of the Jews fought here. We drew up a list of representatives by mutual consent."

Netanyahu and Lieberman won an astounding political victory this week over the veteran leadership of the party. And since there is probably a long way to go before the next election, long-time Likud supporters, angry as they may be right now, will have plenty of time to cool down before they must face the traumatic possibility of voting for someone other party.

But if the Likud dissidents decide to make good their veiled threat of defection, they may find a ready-made constituency itching for revenge.

VICTORY

Continued from Page 13

"These people are only interested in getting cushy jobs, that's what the revolt is about. What has happened to ideology? Their big ideology is their jobs, that every minister will play up to them. They want respect, they want the ministers to come to their sons' bar-mitzva and circumcision ceremonies."

Roni dismisses claims by convention delegates that they want more accountability from the ministers and MKs so they can influence their ideological positions. "Nonsense," he said. "The convention was a disgrace. This is a week when we had the anniversaries of Rabin's assassination, Nabhon Wachsman's killing, the bombing on the No. 5 bus in Tel Aviv, and what was the central issue at the convention? Jobs."

"Saddam Hussein is talking about blowing us all up, and the only thing on the agenda is perks."

After venting his frustration, Roni said that his choices, come election time, are limited. He said he would still vote for Netanyahu over Ehud Barak, because of ideological reasons, but would think long and hard before voting for the Likud's Knesset list.

"I am afraid the convention will bring down the party," he said. "In 1992 I called a radio station and pleaded with the Likud to stop fighting because we were going to fall. The same thing is happening now."

Whereas Lipsky said he doubts the voters will punish the party because of the convention since "people identify with Likud because of the ideology, not because of the people on the list," Roni disagreed.

with a gut feeling. And the feeling the convention left in the gut is not a good one," he said.

This assessment was echoed by Avraham Bricha, the outgoing head of Haifa University's political science department and an authority on election systems and processes. "I think in the eyes of the public, what the party did will hurt them," Bricha stated. "They have given the nomination back to party bosses, and the MKs will again be dependent only on small cliques. Voters prefer a more democratic process. It has a much greater appeal than the oligarchic process."

Bricha believes that it is this very appeal that will keep Labor and Meretz from abolishing their own primaries, especially now, since they can contrast the openness of their internal nomination process to the closed oligarchy that has won out in the Likud.

However, Bricha pointed out that while the move may be bad for the Likud, in that it could lose seats in the next election, it is not necessarily bad for Netanyahu, since, as prime minister, he is elected directly, appearing on a separate ballot. The central committee process will give Netanyahu greater control over the party, Bricha said, arguing that the prime minister may think it is more in his interest to have a smaller faction in the next Knesset that is obedient, rather than a larger one he cannot count on.

When asked whether this is wise, since a smaller Likud faction will open Netanyahu up to more pressure and demands from the smaller parties within the coalition, Bricha replied: "Now he has both a weak faction and extortion from the small parties. It is in his interest to have one or the other, not both." The events of the past week indicate he is opting for the latter.

Return of the shuttle diplomat

Henry Kissinger says the US and Israel have been talking past one another. It's time for a strategic understanding, he tells Thomas O'Dwyer



Kissinger: 'Assad is never going to feel he must make a great contribution to coexistence. But he is willing to make a practical arrangement.'

Two weeks before he was murdered, prime minister Yitzhak Rabin had a long lunch with former secretary of state Henry Kissinger at the Regency Hotel in New York. Two years later, Kissinger was here this week to deliver the first Rabin Lecture for the new Yitzhak Rabin Center in Tel Aviv, established to honor the slain statesman.

"This is very moving for me," he said. "He was a very dear friend. I knew him since 1967. He was a shy man, with extraordinary analytical skills, totally committed to Israel's security - but also to the peace in which it must be embedded."

Over that lunch, Rabin told Kissinger Israel had entered the Oslo peace process because it had no choice. Or rather, it had three options regarding Gaza and the West Bank, but only one was a valid choice. They were: integration, which would change the demographic basis of the State of Israel; an "Arab bantustan" solution, which would destroy the moral basis of the state; or negotiated coexistence.

Kissinger said Rabin "was totally, totally, trusted in Washington and, in partnership with Shimon Peres, he built a remarkable position for Israel in the international and Arab world."

"Once, when a foreign diplomat told Rabin to argue for peace with him any more would be preaching to the converted, Rabin replied 'no, no to the converted; to the committed.'"

KISSINGER IS as robust at 74 as he was in 1974, when he became shuttle diplomacy personified ("messenger boy," he quips) and brokered the historic disengagement agreement after the Yom Kippur War.

Kissinger speaks of his "complex personal situation" in his dealings with the Middle East. A German-born Jew who lost 13 members of his family in Nazi death camps, he has always felt his destiny is linked to Israel's.

"And yet, I also have been honored to be the first Jewish secretary of state, contributing to guiding the destiny of America in very difficult times - Vietnam, the domestic Watergate crisis, the Yom Kippur War, the energy crisis and first Israel-Arab peace process," he says.

He has been the object of controversy and attack as well as of admiration, yet, unlike many other wary statesmen, Kissinger is at ease with the media, staying on the record all the time.

Just before he ended his trip this week, five journalists were invited to interview him in his room at Tel Aviv's Dan Hotel. He carefully noted and repeated the journalists' names and, citing their reports in the Hebrew and English media, declared Israeli coverage of his visit and his comments had been "very fair." He tackled all questions with growing gusto, fixing the questioner with a gimlet gaze.

But there were limits. His admiration for the achievements of the Rabin-Peres team was clear, but he deftly turned aside attempts to draw comment on the current crisis of confidence in the peace process being blamed on the government of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

"Obviously this government is different from the previous one, but I will not be drawn into Netanyahu baiting," he said bluntly. "I am not here to negotiate. I am here to conceptualize." What he would be drawn into was repeating the theme of

his Rabin Lecture at the Habimah Theater earlier this week - that it is essential for Israel and the United States to reach strategic agreement on where they want to go in the peace process, and then go there.

Where they should be going is into final settlement talks on the clear understanding that since a Palestinian state is inevitable, it is time to negotiate Israel's borders with that "unit."

"The question must be - what are the borders that are considered secure by Israel, and compatible with Arab dignity by the PLO. This will not always be an easy process. I have always advocated a version of the Allon Plan for the West Bank," Kissinger said.

"What I do think is very important is that the United States and Israel have that strategic discussion on where they are trying to get to, so that the outcome is tolerable to all sides... I'm not sure they have had that discussion."

Kissinger said the Clinton administration thinks the right way to proceed is to carry out all the provisions of the Oslo agreements and the emphasis should be on the redeployments. He thinks the Likud government wants to cut to the final-status talks.

"Therefore the two sides [the US and Israel] have been talking past one another," he said. "I would really like to see that strategic understanding between Israel and the US. One doesn't know what might happen if that could be achieved... There really has been only one high level meeting between the secretary of state [Madeleine

Albright] and Netanyahu, so it's early days."

KISSINGER emphasized he was talking only about the Palestinian track. "Syria is a different story entirely," he said. Proferring great personal regard for President Hafez Assad's intellectual powers, Kissinger said "Assad always moves very slowly. You cannot judge his ultimate reaction by his first reaction to a proposal."

"If one side says 'this is what I might be willing to do in theory, if you are willing to do something in theory,' this is not the way he operates."

"At least in negotiations I have seen, Israeli negotiators drag you to the last second of the last hour of the last day, to prove to each other that they have gotten the last drop of blood out of the stone. The Syrians are the same way, maybe even stronger. The fact that Rabin made a proposal which was not immediately accepted does not mean the opportunity was lost."

Kissinger said the trick of negotiating with Assad is to be patient, but not let him think it can go on indefinitely. "If he thinks that, it will go on indefinitely - because you might bring something else on the next visit. Maybe that was the line that made the previous secretary of state [Warren Christopher] go there 26 times."

Kissinger said Assad is not Egypt's Anwar Sadat - there will never be a defining "trip to Jerusalem" that will signal a breakthrough. Even Israelis still think there is going to be an illuminating moment when Assad will make a sudden turn towards peace and then everything will follow. The won't be, said Kissinger.

"Sadat thought the problem between Israel and the Arabs was psychological, so he would remove the psychological part of it. Assad doesn't care what the animos are," Kissinger explains.

"To Assad, the only obstacle is that Israel has Syrian territory. He is never going to feel he must make a great contribution to coexistence. But in my view he is willing to make a practical arrangement."

Kissinger said that on every visit here, he keeps getting asked when Assad is going to see the light.

"He already sees the light by the way he looks at foreign policy. It is already progress that he is willing to make peace with Israel. When I first met him, he was not even willing to talk about it. Negotiation will be detailed and protracted, but he can do it."

ASKED ABOUT Iran, Kissinger strongly rejected conventional wisdom that the new president, Mohammed Khatami, is more moderate.

"I see no sign of it. Maybe he is more modern, but in his domestic policy. It is even possible he will lighten domestic restrictions on the economy, but will purchase this [from the mullahs] by even greater orthodoxy on foreign policy." Nonetheless, Kissinger said he did not question the importance of improving relations with Iran as a strategic state in the region "if it can be done."

"But I think it would be very dangerous to lift sanctions or pay any unilateral price when, for 20 years now, no one can point to even one conciliatory move the Iranian government has made towards anybody in the Western world," he said.

Asked about American attitudes towards Russia's Middle East policy, Kissinger said Russia has no interest in listening to any Western calls to do anything, particularly in the Middle East.

"Look, we Americans have this tendency to believe we are some sort of schoolmasters of humanity, forever lecturing on proliferation, and this, and that. What Russia wants to do is to elbow its way into Middle East diplomacy to show the United States it cannot be ignored... What Russia wants to do is show it is a major player in the Middle East, and it might follow short-sighted policies while doing it."

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# How fertile is the crescent?

## US officials see business opportunities in the Middle East despite the lukewarm response to the regional summit in Doha that opens on Sunday, Hillel Kuttler reports from Washington

At the 1995 regional economic summit in Amman, Egypt and Qatar fought for the right to host the next annual event. So a compromise was struck: Cairo in 1996 and Doha in 1997.

That was then, this is now. "We don't have that competition this time around," a senior Clinton administration official acknowledged the other day.

Gone is the heady atmosphere surrounding the groundbreaking Casablanca conference that was held three years ago. Given current Arab recriminations against Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, many US officials say it is a wonder that the fourth Middle East/North Africa Economic Conference, which starts on Sunday, is being held at all.

That it is, they say, is a tribute to the administration's persistence and to the Qataris' refusal to knuckle under to the threats of their Arab brethren, mainly the Syrians and Saudis.

Officials of the Commerce and State departments prefer to see the glass as half-full.

They point to the expected attendance of more than 150 Americans and 125 Qataris among the 750 representatives from the private sector worldwide, and the increased Asian business presence at Doha.

One official even claimed that only the lack of hotel space in the host city — two ships are being pressed into service to accommodate people — is preventing greater attendance.

At the same time, they bemoan the decrease in attendance of businesspeople from the region, who represent the foundation on which expanded intra-regional trade

must be built. And, of course, they are concerned by the decision by many Arab governments to send lower-level officials or to boycott the conference entirely.

"Frankly, it's a triumph to do it at all under the current circumstances," the US official said, of the effect of the crisis in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on the Doha conference.

WHILE SUSPICION about Netanyahu nearly caused Egypt to abort last year's event, the situation is more dire this year, the official said.

"They had doubts. A year ago, we said, 'Give [Netanyahu] a chance.' Now, they don't see this Israeli government as much of a partner. They've got a perception. We're not going to turn that perception around."

The US was determined not to let the Doha conference collapse. This is because "we feel that we cannot afford to allow the institutions of the process to die or to collapse, because it will be that much more difficult" to resuscitate in the future, said Martin Indyk, the new assistant secretary of state for Near East affairs. Indyk made his remarks in a lecture here Wednesday, just days after returning from the Persian Gulf, where he had lobbied on behalf of the conference.

ALL THIS occurs as the giant just up the Gulf, Iraq, is again in the news, tweaking the US by refusing to allow Americans to participate in the UN's weapons inspections. Rob Sattoff of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy said Doha and Baghdad are unrelated, but they "underscore the competing trends in the region."

"One, Saddam was there before Madrid, since Madrid, and Saddam is still there; and two, the rise and fall of multilateralism. It seems to me this [Doha] is pretty much the last gasp of the great regional ideas after Madrid. The [regional development] bank is dead, the [five sets of] multilateral negotiations are dead," Sattoff said.

Washington also values the conference because it believes it helps stimulate economic reform. Businesspeople and government officials interviewed attribute Egyptian and Qatari economic liberalizations in part to the hosts' recognizing the importance of improving their own climate for attracting international business.

This time around, there are fewer grand schemes for regional integration, along the lines of the Jordan Rift Valley development project of two years ago.

But, according to undersecretary of state for economic affairs Stuart Eizenstat, the US is still "pushing hard" to advance the Rift Valley plan, as well as the Akaba airport, a development account for the territories via the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a federal agency, the Gaza industrial zone and the Israel-Egypt "peace pipeline," a gas pipeline between the two countries.

The US is also nurturing the Israel-Jordan joint venture for a Global TransPark at Akaba. Eizenstat and other US officials say the office of the US Trade Representative (USTR) could announce at Doha that the US is granting the TransPark, as well as Irbid, Jordan, "qualified industrial zone" status, giving these areas preferential access to the American market.

At Cairo last year, the US

announced multimillion-dollar deals between American and Middle Eastern companies, and this year three or more huge deals will be signed. Officials don't want to steal the thunder from Secretary of State Madeleine Albright by revealing what they are, but it was learned that one of the deals is a \$750 million joint venture between Phillips Petroleum, based in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, and the Qatar General Petroleum Corporation to build a petrochemical plant.

The sides have been hammering out the terms since Phillips won the contract in May, and US officials believe that the approach of the Doha conference is spurring

the sides to bring it to closure.

The Commerce Department is buoyed, too, by two major deals US companies signed recently: one for \$1 billion between Hughes Space Communications of Los Angeles and Thuraya Satellite Telecommunications Company of the United Arab Emirates for a satellite mobile communications system, and another for \$1.6 billion between CMS Energy of Dearborn, Michigan, and Morocco's national utility company, ONE, to construct a 1,300 megawatt power plant at Jorf Lasfar.

Albright, Eizenstat, Commerce Secretary William Daley and his undersecretary David Aaron are

heading the US's government delegation. American companies are bidding on 24 deals with companies in the region, worth about \$20 billion, and Albright and Daley will lead the advocacy effort.

GENERAL ELECTRIC'S vice president and senior counsel Mike Gadbow will be at Doha with about six colleagues. He said GE is participating both to support the emirate and to encourage further "policy reform to create a better environment" for doing business in the region.

"The opportunities for trade and the elimination of trade barriers are greater in this region than any other region," he said. "The

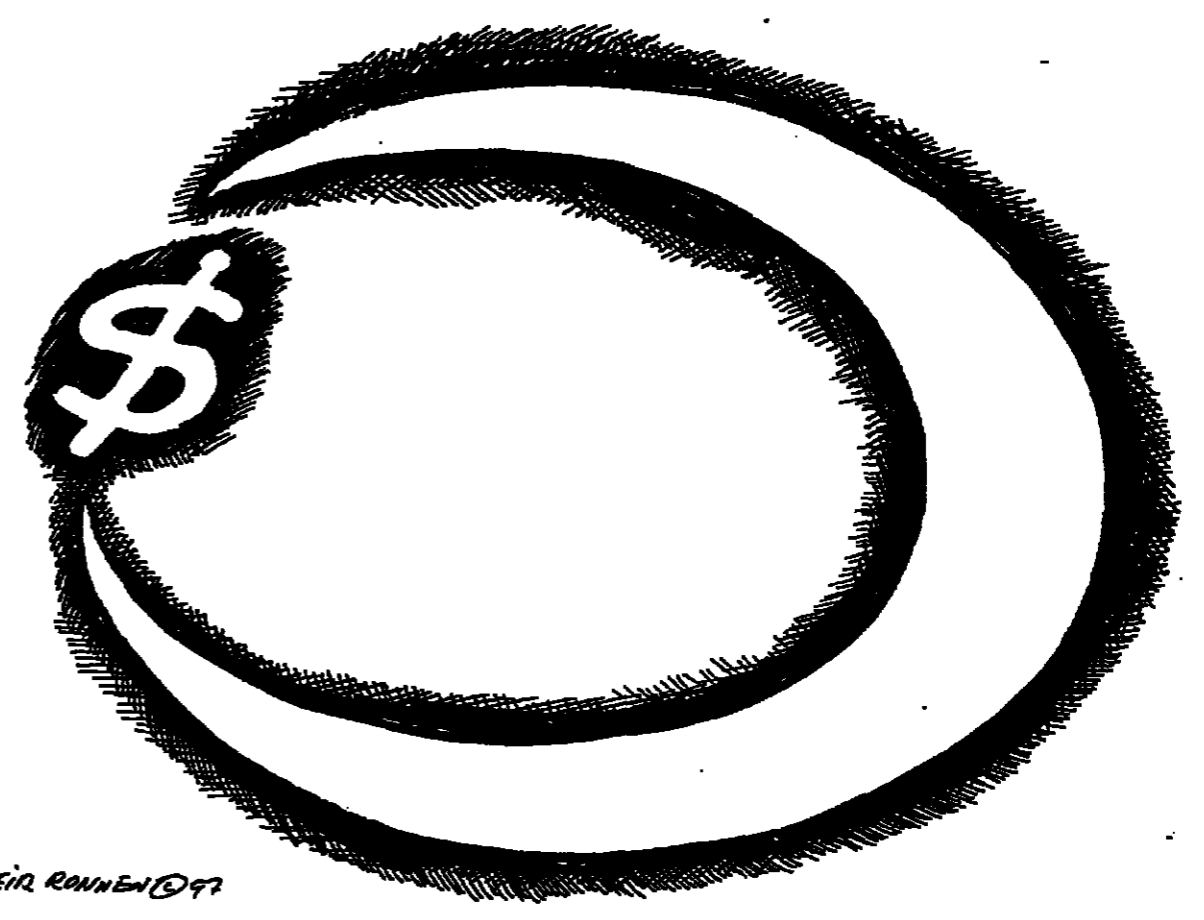
[potential] benefits are tremendous."

He cited Egypt's privatization liberalization policy and Saudi Arabia's desire to get into the World Trade Organization as evidence of improvements.

GE does "quite a significant percentage" of its \$90 billion of annual revenue in the region and is going to Doha looking to arrange deals in power generation, transportation and aircraft engines, Gadbow said.

The political problems are a concern, but Gadbow hopes that they don't "monopolize all the attention" at Doha.

See FERTILE, Page 16



MEIR RONEN © 97

## Behind-the-scenes trade

### While most Arab countries are boycotting the Doha conference, Arab and Israeli businesspeople say quietly that they are trading more than ever. The biggest obstacle is bureaucracy, Steve Rodan writes

At first glance, the slight man with the trimmed mustache looked like your average Middle Eastern tourist, albeit a well-dressed one. His suit was made of the finest cotton, and he sported a silk tie.

The traveler turned out to be a prince from one of the Gulf states. His destination was Israel. His goal was to buy arms — at least a billion dollars worth.

That may sound like a tale from *The Thousand and One Nights*, but it has been confirmed by diplomatic sources who refused to divulge further details lest they give away the prince's identity or that of his country.

If that story sounds fantastic, consider the Arab businessman who offered to sell Israel millions of tons of cheap oil annually in exchange for a pipeline through the country.

While most Arab states are boycotting the three-day Middle East economic conference that starts in Qatar on Sunday, Arab and Israeli businesspeople say quietly that they are trading more than ever.

Despite Israeli-Arab tensions, deals are being completed without fanfare in Arab and European capitals. They involve purchases of products that few people would ever dream of Israel exporting to the Arab world, including military hardware.

"We have made sales of a couple of million dollars to more than one Arab country," says Israel Military Industries president Shlomo Milo. "They approached us," he adds, declining to elaborate.

Ziad K. Abdelnour, a Lebanese-born managing director of the New York-based InterBank Capital Group, has watched Arabs and Israelis forge business contacts and joint ventures for years.

"It is a fact that Arabs and Israelis have been conducting business for the last 15-20 years," he says. "This has been private business. It hasn't taken place only during the peace process of the last three years or four years, but for a long time."

Abdelnour, who has also written about Middle East economies for prominent US academic journals, asserts that Arab investors are drawn to Israelis for several reasons: their geographic proximity, the quality of Israeli technology and marketing, and most important, the likelihood of getting an American investor involved.

"Business between Israel and the Arabs is dependent on the political situation but it is increasing as well," Abdelnour says.

"It is increasing at the rate of 8 to 10 percent a year. If there were a political settlement, it would go up to 22 percent a year. The gain for the Arabs is that if the Arabs want to attract Western and especially American investors, they have to make peace with Israel."



MEIR RONEN © 97

According to the accounting firm Coopers & Lybrand, Israel is second in the world today as a recipient for venture capital for financing investments. It is outdone this year only by the US.

There are two kinds of business being conducted between Israelis and Arabs. The first sort is of a high-profile nature, such as a venture involving 28-year-old entrepreneur Daniel Lubetzky, in 1994, he founded The Peaceworks, Inc. with Israeli and Arab investors, to encourage peace through economics.

Today, Mexican-born Lubetzky markets a line of condiments composed of tomatoes and olives. The produce is grown by Palestinians and manufactured by Israelis. The spreads are called Moshe Pupik and Ali Mishumken's World Famous Gourmet Foods. Pupik means belly button in Hebrew. Mishumken in Arabic could be translated as incredible.

The name might sound more like it belongs at a Middle Eastern parleys.

The spread, plus Lubetzky's spreads, basil pesto sauce and olive oil, are sold in more than 2,600 outlets in the US, Mexico, Canada, Europe and parts of South America. Sales in the US total more than \$1 million.

"In the modest venture that we started, things cannot be better," Lubetzky says, speaking from his mobile phone between business deals somewhere in New Jersey. "We [Arabs and Israelis] are the strongest of allies. We haven't educated people enough to show that Arabs and Israelis are working together. All you hear on the news is the negative."

In Lubetzky's case, good business has also become good politics. Both Israeli and Jordanian diplomats have endorsed the project.

Leading Americans have joined in as well, including Ben Cohen, cofounder of Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream, and Leonard Hausman, a leading economist at Harvard University who has been a US envoy at Middle East economic parleys.

Then there is the quiet business cooperation. Here, there are no announcements of deals, no release of sales figures and usually no government recognition.

An Arab participant in joint ventures with such deals fall into two categories. The easy deal is one concluded with a Middle East distributor who wants to import Israeli goods to his country or region.

Such deals have been numerous, Arab and Israeli business sources say. They include the export of eggs, processed food or chemicals to the Gulf states, electronic equipment and medical technology to North Africa and agricultural technology to Iran.

Just about every country today receives Israeli products, regardless of their label — even countries such as Iraq, Syria and Lebanon.

Many products are marketed and exported through Europe, particularly London. In other cases, Jordan serves as a meeting point for Arab and Israeli businesspeople, and such exports are

often marketed via the Hashemite kingdom. Egypt is also a meeting place for Israelis and Arabs, but Cairo is not the highly regarded site that it was two years ago.

Trade between Arabs and Israelis is hard to gauge. Official trade with Egypt is expected to total about \$45 million this year. With Jordan, the figure is about \$10 million. Morocco buys several million dollars worth of exports a year from Israel, official statistics show.

But Israeli diplomats acknowledge that despite their quiet efforts they learn only about a small percentage of the business deals that are made with the Arab world. Some officials and diplomats estimate that trade with Morocco alone actually totals close to \$1 billion.

"We know maybe 20 percent of the picture," an Israeli diplomatic source serving in an Arab country says. "Most of the business we don't know about. If we would call people directly to ask they would hang up on us."

Israeli and Arab businessmen estimate the volume of trade and joint ventures at close to \$2 billion. Abdelnour points to Morocco as an example. The investors include Foad Filali, a son-in-law of King Hassan II.

"Morocco is a very interesting market," Abdelnour says. "There is lots of privatization. They are at the forefront of Arab capital markets. They are very active with Israelis and American firms."

The key to expanding business, Arab and Israeli businessmen say, is forming a joint venture. Here's how it works. An Israeli businessman has a product line. He transfers this to an Arab country, usually Jordan or Egypt. The Arab partner provides capital, cheap labor and powerful political connections. Such links are vital to ensuring that Arab authorities do not interfere.

The markets tend to be in Europe and the US. Israel has free trade agreements with both and with the addition of low labor costs, these products can undercut a lot of the competition. In such cases, the product has to be labeled "Made in Israel."

But an increasing number of Arab distributors are interested in marketing these products as well. For this, the products must be labeled as being manufactured in Jordan or Egypt.

The US has quietly been encouraging these efforts. Last month, US Undersecretary of Commerce Stuart Eizenstat visited Jordan and toured an Israeli-Jordanian factory that has been exporting products to the US under the free trade agreement. The Jordanians hope to win similar approval for duty-free products to be sent to the European Union.

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NO TELEPHONE SUBMISSIONS

# The Holocaust according to Eva Braun

# Sex and suicide with Hitler

By MEIR RONNEN

Among the scores of comments written in the visitors' book at the Israel Museum's exhibit, "Live and Die as Eva Braun," are these: "Beautiful exhibit! This is the last thing that ought to be censored."

"I am a survivor of Auschwitz and am ashamed to see what is presented as art in the Israel Museum."

"You were right in trying to see the subject in your own way! (Signed, by two women) who have gone through it and haven't forgotten anything."

"I found it obscene and deeply upsetting. I wish I had not been so open-minded to come to see it."

The full title of the exhibit is "Live and Die as Eva Braun - Hitler's Mistress, in the Berlin Bunker and Beyond - An Illustrated Proposal for a Virtual-Reality Scenario - Not to Be Realized." It was created by Israeli artist Roee Rosen, whose father is a Holocaust survivor.

The exhibit, which opened November 4 and closes January 30, has been criticized as pornographic, for "humanizing" Eva Braun, for asking viewers to identify with her, and for deeply offending the sensitivities of Israelis, especially Holocaust survivors. Some, like Jerusalem Deputy Mayor Shlomo Shakedy, have called for it to be closed immediately, a demand the museum has rejected.

The exhibit's defenders insist that it approaches the horrors of the Holocaust from a fresh perspective and tries to convey these horrors in the most harrowing, intimate way.

Rosen said his intention was to treat the Holocaust "in a way that would be vivid, that would not arrive at a resolution and offer consolation and would not soften things up for the viewer." He said that because the paintings and text show Eva Braun and her world to be so grotesque, the viewer cannot possibly identify with her but will experience the exhibit as herself or himself.

"My meetings with Holocaust survivors at the exhibit were thrilling and moving," said Rosen. "Many just came up to me and shook my hand; some said they saw it as a memorialization of what they went through." As yet, he said, all the face-to-face reactions from Holocaust survivors have been encouraging. But he also expects to hear condemnations from survivors by the time the exhibit closes.

The text displayed in the exhibit presents the viewer with a minutely detailed fantasy of Eva Braun and Hitler in the bunker. ("He comes towards you with such warmth, his smile tired, his arms open to embrace you. Remember — you are Eva.") They copulate — urination fetish and all; Eva Braun is shot by Hitler, she expe-

While some viewers of the Eva Braun exhibit shake the artist's hand, others shake their heads in dismay, wondering how such a thing can be shown in Israel. Larry Derfner reports



The paintings in the exhibit show pastoral German scenes and fairy tales alongside scenes of murder. Below: The artist at age three with a Hitler mustache. (Courtesy of the Israel Museum)

**"The exhibit actually shows the depravity of the culture that produced Hitler"**

—James Snyder, Israel Museum director-general



**"I'm all for artistic freedom, but the art itself has to stand the test [of worthiness]"**

—Yoram Amit, Amcha director

riences afterlife. In the end, she visualizes a tableau of Hitler and herself, dead in the bunker, on display at a wax museum in Milan. ("There's no question, you are being led to hell — but why?")

The paintings in the exhibit show pastoral German scenes and German fairy tales, alongside scenes of murder. Often the innocent and the demonic are woven together in the same painting. There are animals, angels and little German boys with erect penises. One painting depicts Rosen himself at age three with a Hitler mustache.

Education and Culture Minister Zevulun Hammer wrote to the museum asking it to show greater

consideration for the sensitivities of viewers, particularly Holocaust survivors. James Snyder, director-general of the museum, said that while there is a written introduction in the exhibit hall explaining that this is an artist's demanding but earnest attempt to deal with the Holocaust, a shorter and more clearly stated introduction will be added.

"The exhibit actually shows the depravity of the culture that produced Hitler," Snyder said. He noted that while he was certainly aware that some viewers, especially Holocaust survivors, would find

the exhibit hard to take, most of the reactions, including those from survivors, had been positive. "We are not out to offend anybody. We're supposed to be about doing good," he said.

Like Rosen, Snyder said he was particularly irked by the attacks from politicians and others who had not even seen the exhibit. "This is a new school of art criticism," he commented sarcastically.

Yoram Amit, director of the Jerusalem branch of Amcha, an organization that provides aid and psychological counseling to Holocaust survivors and their families, said he went to see the exhibit this week so he would know what he was talking about when

reporters interview him.

Asked if he thought the exhibit gave a sympathetic portrayal of Eva Braun, Amit replied, "No, but that doesn't concern me. But I asked myself why an exhibit is being shown in Israel that asks people to encounter the Holocaust via Eva Braun. It seemed strange to me and, in a way, unseemly and wrong. Before we understand the murderers, we have to understand the murdered. I'm all for artistic freedom, but the art itself has to stand the test [of worthiness]."

Amit said that after the controversy arose, "four or five" Holocaust survivors called Amcha urging the organization to protest against the exhibit. None of the callers had seen it, he said, but some might have seen the paintings and portions of the text published in Jerusalem's *Kol Ha'Ir*. "They said they didn't want to go near the exhibit. They felt hurt by it and didn't understand why it was being shown. They were angry," Amit said, adding, "I imagine that some survivors had positive reactions to it, but I haven't come across any."

In deciding to do "Live and Die as Eva Braun," which took three years to complete, Rosen said, "The crucial question for me was why a trauma that is so central to my identity, both personal and collective, is one that I've always avoided tackling as an artist?" He realized that "I had good reasons to maintain silence. One of them was that I was afraid to offend people."

But ultimately, he said, he decided it was "immoral" to be silent. He also believes that many depictions of the Holocaust which ask viewers to "identify with the victims" end up "allowing us to speak in the name of the victims," and that was immoral, too. Finally, he said, so much expression about the Holocaust is filled with clichés, which deaden people to the actuality of the Holocaust. This, too, he contends, is immoral.

Of all the comments written in the visitors' book, Rosen said the one that gave him the greatest lift was from a boy of 17 "who said that before he attended the exhibit, he could only think cynically about the Holocaust because of all the clichés attached to it. But this showed him there were also other ways to look at it."

The 34-year-old Rosen said his father had never talked to him about his experiences in the Holocaust, until he saw "Live and Die as Eva Braun."

"He thanked me for it," Rosen said. "But he also said he could fully understand how other survivors might have a very different reaction."

## FERTILE

Continued from Page 15

"I think there's a tremendous interest in looking at the commercial and economic side of the equation and creating the kinds of conditions that would help support the peace process," Gadbow said.

American companies offer the region much in the way of infrastructure construction, tourism, transportation and product distribution systems, to name just a few areas, Gadbow said, adding, "The peace process will obviously have to move forward in order for many of these ideas to be implemented. That doesn't mean the thinking has to stop."

Nabius native Hani Masri is another American convinced of the viability and profitability of doing business in the region. At Doha, OPIC will announce that it is providing more than \$40m in investment insurance for Masri's \$100m fund for investing in businesses in the territories.

Masri, the head of Capital Investment Management Corporation of McLean, Virginia, was in Qatar last month and found businesspeople there interested in his venture. He expects to gain additional commitments at Doha. "We will look at each project in business terms," Masri said of the capital venture, to be headquartered in Ramallah. "If it is feasible, if it will make money, we will invest. It'll be run as a business, not a charity foundation."

Masri is convinced he can make money and help his homeland at the same time. But he knows how difficult that can be. Every time he visits and travels between Israel and the territories or Jordan, he wastes precious hours when Israel insists he must travel on Palestinian travel documents. He usually has to call on the American Embassy in Tel Aviv to bail him out.

"From a purely business perspective, it's very frustrating... I feel the Netanyahu government hasn't done enough to alleviate the fears of the businessman who wants to go in and invest. The political conditions are not right... People think no one in his right mind would invest in the territories. But I know the area. I am basically an optimist that things will brighten up. They can't get worse."

## Where to eat in Israel

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MIDDLE ISRAEL



By AMOTZ ASA-EL

You can change a system, Winston Churchill once said, "but you can't change a people." Indeed, the more it seems to stay the same...

Planet of the apes

the work of almost every Israeli cabinet since the twilight of David Ben-Gurion's reign in the early 1960s.

politician who is insufficiently power hungry will seldom make it to the top. And a durable, effective constituency is likely to be founded on such common denominators as income, profession, ethnicity or locality.

but in reality pandered to the likes of David Levy — and switched to Labor, which ostensibly shielded the working classes but in reality represented the middle classes.

the sea is the same sea and the Arabs are the same Arabs, then the Likud's hacks are the same heckling, spitting, fist-waving, chair-throwing, microphone-grabbing riffraff we have come to know so well over the years.



SHABBAT SHALOM

Seeing beyond blind faith



Parashat Vayezra

By SHLOMO RISKIN

"Lay not your hand upon the lad, neither do anything to him..." (Gen. 22:12)

A VIEW FROM NOV



By MOSHE KOHN

The Arabs' hundred-year war against the Jews in Eretz Yisrael established a new pattern: the defeated aggressor sues to be compensated for his losses, and the world recognizes his right to sue and to be compensated.

'The biggest robbery in history'

Egyptians took a liking to their Jewish slaves and granted their request for the loan of their (the Egyptians) gold and silver objects and clothes (Exodus 12:35-36).

Swiss banks. Helmi said they had not yet decided whether to file the suit in Egypt or Switzerland. "The case needs additional preparation," he said.

justice. All based their claims on the Torah. That advocate was one Geviha ben Pessisa, a humble hunchback, who volunteered for the task when no one else was ready to do so.

of Jerusalem, codirector of IMRA/Independent Media Review & Analysis, for the Al-Ahram Weekly story. The Alexander/Geviha legend appears in several variations in Megillat Taanit, chapter 3, Sanhedrin 91a, Bereshit Rabba 61:7, Yerushalmi Shevi'it 61:1.

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# The word from Washington

DOHA  
Continued from Page 15

**U**S Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs Stuart Eizenstat persists in promoting the Doha conference as a business opportunity, best left unlinked to the peace process or other political developments. Of those states which are boycotting for political reasons, he says bluntly: It's their loss.

**Those who don't attend Doha will suffer the loss, US Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs Stuart Eizenstat tells Hillel Kuttler**

*What do you forecast for the upcoming Doha economic conference, in light of the difficulties in the peace process - particularly the decision by last year's host, Egypt, not to attend?*

Obviously, this has not been an easy year to put the conference together because of the difficulties in the peace process. But what we've stressed is that this is not a reward to any country. It's an opportunity to try to enhance trade opportunities in a region that only does 7 percent of all its trading amongst its members, one of the lowest percentages of anywhere in the world.

Obviously, the peace process is not where we want it to be, but more than 750 businesspeople and 400 officials from 35 countries will attend. [They] are going to benefit from a unique opportunity of public-private sector networking and looking at investment opportunities in this part of the world.

Those that don't attend will suffer the loss by indicating that they're falling back into old modes of thinking in terms of tying economic issues to political issues.

*You were just in the region. What messages did you take back*

*from the Arab countries on the difficulties they saw in holding the conference in this political context?*

The Jordanians with whom I met were gung-ho to go forward, and they are.

The Egyptians were already at that point of tying it to progress in the peace process. And I think with the lack of progress over the last several weeks, it fit into what they were saying in the region. And the same with the Palestinians. So none of this is a surprise, but we're obviously disappointed by Egypt's decision not to attend.

*Two of the three previous hosts of the summit, Morocco and Egypt, will not be there. What kind of message does that send?*

They, obviously, intended to send a message of displeasure with the status of the peace process. That's what they've said publicly, and that's what they were telling us privately. We've argued very strenuously that this is not the way to show their displeasure, but they told us they feel they have very few instruments.

This is not helpful to their own economies, to their own image in terms of investment opportunities,

their own willingness to put aside the politics of the past. But it does reflect a very profound concern with the policy of the Israeli government as they see it.

I also think that Israel has been perhaps the chief beneficiary, economically, of the peace process. The Arab boycott has been largely eviscerated. Israel is open to the world, and the world to Israel's products as never before... and as Israel integrates more with the region, those opportunities will only expand.

This does indicate that there is a relationship between the peace process and the economic policies, and they can't be divorced... And if the peace process stalls, it is to everyone's disadvantage, including Israel's, economically as well as politically.

*What message will you and secretaries Albright and Daley be projecting to promote the American business agenda with the Middle East?*

First, ... in their own internal economic policies, it is important that they privatize their economies, that they allow more open investment and trade, ... that they develop a commercial infrastructure, which fosters private

sector investment and trade, like intellectual property rights protections.

Second, that we go after and attack the structural barriers to trade in the region, which have nothing to do with the peace process or with Arab-Israel trade.

*The grand regional projects highlighted at the Amman summit, with visions of integrating economies - what has happened to them?*

We have worked very hard on that. That's one of the things I did when I was in Israel and Jordan. I talked with [Infrastructure] Minister [Ariel] Sharon when I was there. I've talked with him again just within the past few weeks. We've got the Akaba-Eilat airport that's had its first flights, which is very positive. We have pushed very hard for concrete Jordan Rift Valley projects.

We are also trying to push things for the Palestinians. We are trying to push a development fund for OPIC [Overseas Private Investment Corporation] there. We're trying to push for a Gaza industrial, duty-free estate which would employ 20,000 Palestinians.

We're trying to do the same thing in Jordan, at Irbid.

We're also pressing hard on the Egypt-Israel so-called peace [gas] pipeline. And while that has certainly slowed, it's by no means over.

And Minister Sharon deserves a lot of credit for cutting a lot of red tape on the Israeli side and moving things very nicely there, and now we need to get more movement on the Egyptian side.



A taste of Canada: Dick Bellis-Skil Q'uas performs a traditional Haida Indian dance as Tel Aviv mayor Ronni Milo and Canadian ambassador David Berger look on. (Michael Freed)

## Canadians carve out their territory

**A**lthough he usually takes a year to carve a totem pole, Canadian Haida Indian Dick Bellis-Skil Q'uas took a record four months to carve the opening of the "Taste of Canada" exhibition at the Tel Aviv Sheraton. Carved from a west Canadian 3,000-year-old red cedar tree which was cut down five years ago, the totem pole includes a number of symbols. At the bottom is a combined figure of a grizzly bear and a killer whale, the creatures most feared by the Haida people. Haida custom designates that a woman wash out the evil spirit from the totem pole each time it is put up in a new location. The honor on this occasion fell to Wendy Geri, the hotel's public relations manager. Bellis then performed an Indian ceremonial dance, after which the pole was hoisted into place by Tel Aviv mayor Ronni Milo, Canadian ambassador David Berger, Sheraton general manager Tom Haggerty, and Ted Reader, executive chief of President's Choice, the private label brand of food products from Canada sold in the Greenberg chain of supermarkets. The ceremony will have to be repeated when the totem pole is relocated in David Azrieli's newest shopping mall. The entrepreneurial architect who divides his time between Canada and Israel wants to put a more visible Canadian stamp on his next Israeli venture.

Participants in the Foreign Ministry's two-week seminar on *Changes in Diplomacy Towards the 21st Century*, young diplomats from 30 countries, visited Yitzhak Rabin's grave as part of their program. What was not included was a wreath-laying ceremony. But the junior diplomats were so keen to pay tribute to the late prime minister that they purchased their own wreaths and delegated Ada de Asis Hermandes of the Dominican Republic and Eduardo Enrique Reina of Honduras to do the honors.

In a lighter vein, the visitors had a great deal of fun at a folklore evening at Ma'aleh Hahamisha, where they performed their own native songs and dances. Tashi Tsering, a second-generation diplomat whose father is the foreign minister of Bhutan, wore his national costume and waded that he could get into the Guinness Book of Records for wearing the garment with the most pockets. But then again, so could everyone else from Bhutan. The most meaningful performance was that given by Michelle Joanne Javorcikova of Slovakia and Pavel Kafka of the Czech Republic. Considering that they represent the two portions of what was once one country, their (b)national folkdance was a charming example of true coexistence.

IT'S amazing in how diverse a social circle former prime minister

Shimon Peres moves. Peres was among 1,000 guests this week at the wedding of popular singer Zehava Ben to Hapoel Hod Hasharon soccer player Assaf Rosen, which took place at Gan Oranin in Tel Aviv. It's one of many entertainment-world weddings which he's attended. Among the other political figures present were Labor chairman Ehud Barak and Ahmed Tibi, adviser to Yasser Arafat. Entertainment personalities included Rivka Michaeli, Hofni Cohen, Eli Louzon, Margalit Tzani, Eilat Ertlach and Zvika Pk. Most of the singers attending were the leading exponents of Middle Eastern music. For the bride, there was double cause for celebration. It was also her 29th birthday. While most brides stick with only one gown for the evening, Ben changed her dress three times. The newlyweds, who are currently residing in a rented apartment in Ramat Gan, will soon move to their own home in Hod Hasharon.

THERE are some Hebrew University alumni among the members of the HU's International Board of Governors, but the board had never really met during en masse until this week during the special meeting to kick off the university's \$600 million fund-raising campaign. Law faculty alumni were most prominent at the special gathering at the Maersdorf Faculty Club. Small wonder, since 12 of the 14 Supreme Court judges are HU graduates. But there were also alumni from many other disciplines, including Major General Uzi Dayan, OC Central Command, who graduated in mathematics and physics; and popular television

anchorman Chaim Yavin, who confessed to not having been a particularly diligent student when he studied humanities, education and communication some 40 years ago. Also present was MK Naomi Chazan, an expert in African studies. One of HU's more impressive recent graduates is Nir Bareket, who, with two fellow alumni, set up BRM, a high-tech company which developed the first anti-virus solution for computers when they were still students. Naturally, they scored the Hebrew University as their first customer. Now a multimillion-dollar company with highly profitable subsidiaries, BRM is interested in giving something back to the university. It also draws on HU resources for its manpower.

ROMANTIC comedies appear to be in vogue. Currently negotiating for lead roles in two productions in this genre are actor/producer/director Kevin Costner, who's angling for *Message in a Bottle* for true love; and Demi Moore, who hopes to star in *Human Seeking Same*, an interracial romantic comedy.



Zehava Ben and Assaf Rosen (Sivan Farag)

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**CRYPTIC CROSSWORD**

ACROSS

- 1 Perturb the workers, but conclude a deal (5,5)
- 6 Pert female comes with insolence (4)
- 10 Seat one gets into daily (5)
- 11 French wine enters USA to be drunk (9)
- 12 Submitted to the Spanish Guard (8)
- 13 Magic spell is about to do damage (5)
- 15 Admit objective is a bad mistake (3,4)
- 17 Enticingly shows daughter to old tribesmen (7)
- 19 Always going express (3-4)
- 21 Whip firm into sudden spurt (7)
- 22 The snow-line? (5)
- 24 No special item selected from many thin garments (8)

DOWN

- 1 Big bag of plunder (4)
- 2 Among men, a remarkable Greek leader (9)
- 3 Regret having taken head off bird (5)
- 4 Club found in weapon store (7)

27 As a professional he may be painfully manipulative (9)

28 Pronouns complete (5)

29 Loophole in strong regulation (4)

30 Lack of generosity gave sharp pain to one head (10)

5 Ran and just made the five ten (7)

7 Notices nothing's turned up for her (5)

8 New stamps sure to receive approval (4,6)

9 Beautiful singing could be noble act (3,5)

14 Good demonstration of being impervious to noise? (10)

16 How to take a kangaroo unaware? (2,3,3)

18 Handled glasses (9)

20 Takes part in show, having informal agreement to include amateur (4-3)

21 Tell me how much you need for a drink (3,4)

23 Starts to see urgent truths, reading an Eastern scripture (5)

25 A certain time with one voluptuous charmer (5)

26 Girl keeping pupil in (4)

**SOLUTIONS**

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ACROSS: 1 Rounder, 5 Bowls, 8 Grant, 9 Started, 10 Talkative, 12 Nil, 13 Sedate, 14 Combed, 17 Tin, 18 Swinehead, 20 Lenses, 21 Stoop, 25 Risen, 24 Everest.

DOWN: 1 Right, 3 Usa, 3 Delect, 4 Rustic, 5 Brava, 6 Untamable, 7 Saddled, 11 Ludicrous, 13 Settler, 15 Overman, 16 Tissue, 18 Stern, 19 Depot, 22 Tee.

**QUICK CROSSWORD**

ACROSS

- 1 Flatfish (5)
- 4 Appellations (5)
- 8 Eruppen (5)
- 9 Reasonable (7)
- 10 Obtain (7)
- 11 Large aquatic bird (4)
- 12 Manage (3)
- 14 Cowshed (4)
- 15 Dutch cheese (4)
- 18 Allow (3)
- 21 Very pale (4)
- 23 Sanction (7)
- 25 Inquisitive (7)
- 26 Expend (5)
- 27 Faithful (5)
- 28 Agree (6)

DOWN

- 1 On time (5)
- 2 Small fish (7)
- 3 Roundabout (8)
- 4 Near (4)
- 5 Parrot (5)
- 6 Soundless (5)
- 7 Older (5)
- 13 Unnecessary (8)
- 16 Land area (7)
- 17 Rogue (5)
- 19 Taut (5)
- 20 Choose (5)
- 22 Hasten (5)
- 24 Nimcompoop (4)

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Rabbi Moshe Yosef Miletzki, Dayan, Chief Rabbinate, 21 Rehov Zephaniah, Jerusalem  
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TECHNICAL WRITING (evening session)	Sun., Tue., Thur., 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Oct. 30	Sun., Tue., Thur., 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Dec. 14
WEB PUBLISHING (7 courses)	Wednesdays 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Nov. 19	Wednesdays 9 a.m. - 5 p.m.	Nov. 19
CNR Express Track (7 courses)	Mon. & Wed. 10 a.m. - 5 p.m.	Nov. 10	Tue. & Thur. 12:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.	Nov. 11
CNR Regular Track (7 courses)	Mon. & Wed. 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Nov. 10	Mon. & Wed. 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Nov. 12
WINDOWS NT MCSE Express Track (6 courses)	Tue. & Thur. 9 a.m. - 5 p.m.	Jan. 6	Mon. & Wed. 9 a.m. - 5 p.m.	Nov. 10
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*A+ PC SUPPORT ENGINEER (incl. OVA)	Sun. 5 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Nov. 16	Wed. 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Nov. 12
MULTIMEDIA DEVELOPMENT	Wed. 9 a.m. - 12 noon	Nov. 12	Sun. 2 p.m. - 5 p.m.	Dec. 7
VISUAL C++	Mon. 3 p.m. - 6 p.m.	Nov. 17	Sun. 12 noon - 3 p.m.	Dec. 7
VISUAL BASIC	Mon. 12 noon - 3 p.m.	Nov. 10	Wed. 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Nov. 19
C/C++ PROGRAMMING	Mon. 5 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Nov. 17	Mon. 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Nov. 17
COREL DRAW	Mon. 9 a.m. - 12 noon	Nov. 24	Wed. 3 p.m. - 6 p.m.	Nov. 26

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Jerusalem	Tue., Nov. 11 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Thur., Nov. 13 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Thur., Nov. 13 1-5 p.m.	Tue., Nov. 11 5-9 p.m.	Tue., Nov. 11 1-5 p.m.	Fri., Nov. 14 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Sun., Nov. 16 5-9 p.m.

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# Hawks stop Pacers; Bulls lose again

**INDIANAPOLIS (AP)** — Dikembe Mutombo scored 25 points, Steve Smith had 21 and the Atlanta Hawks improved to 8-0 for the best start in franchise history as they beat the Indiana Pacers 89-86 Wednesday night.

Mookie Blaylock added 18 points, including a basket and a free throw in the last 10 seconds. Smith had a basket and three free throws in the last two minutes.

Travis Best had an open 3-point attempt from the left side with 0.8 seconds left, but it rimmed out. He was taking the final shot because Reggie Miller, who scored 30 points, fouled out with 1:21 to play. It was just his second disqualification in the past three seasons.

**Wizards 90, Bulls 83**  
In Chicago, the struggling Bulls lost their fourth game — something that didn't happen until Dec. 26 last year — as Chris Webber led a second-half surge that carried Washington to victory.

Webber scored 8 of his 17 points during a 12-2 second-half run and drew a technical foul against Dennis Rodman that precipitated a game-tying 5-0 run. Washington held Chicago to 30 second-half points.

Michael Jordan scored 28 points but was only 10-of-28 from the floor. Juwan Howard had 18 points and Rod Strickland 17 for the Wizards.

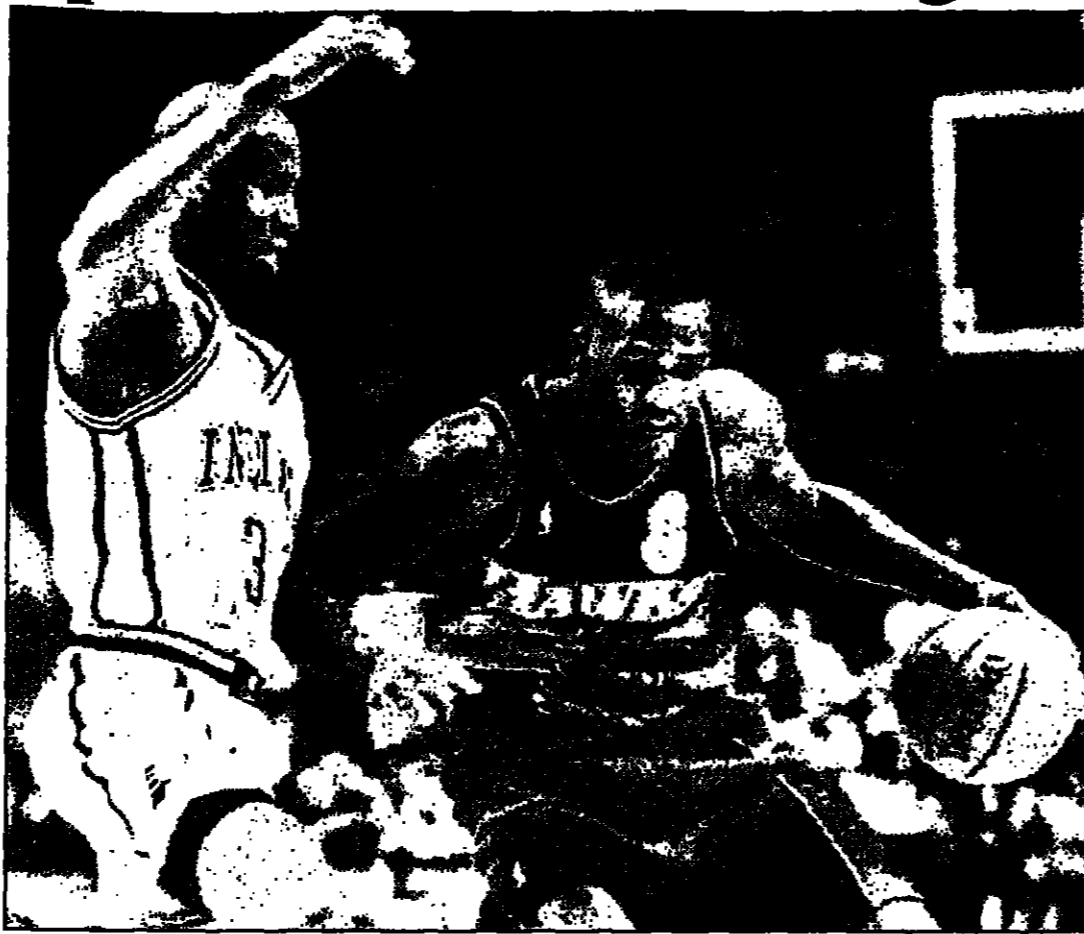
**Celtics 96, Nuggets 86**  
In Boston, Antoine Walker had 19 points and 12 rebounds and Boston won for the first time since opening night.

Ron Mercer added 16 points, including eight in the fourth quarter, and Travis Knight had 17 — two shy of his career-high.

**Kings 115, Magic 89**  
In Orlando, Mitch Richmond scored 25 points and Sacramento won on the road for the first time this season.

Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf added 20 for the Kings, who placed six players in double figures and reached 100 points for the first time this season. Derek Strong had 17 points off the bench for the Magic, who shot only 41 percent.

**Knicks 93, Raptors 70**



**CLOSE ENCOUNTER** — Atlanta Hawks guard Steve Smith squares off against defending Indiana Pacers guard Reggie Miller in Indianapolis. Atlanta won 89-86. (Reuters)

In Toronto, Larry Johnson scored 27 points, more than twice his season average, and New York coasted past Toronto.

Johnson, who apologized to his teammates for his poor shooting in a loss at Sacramento last Sunday, scored 16 points in the first half on 8-of-11 shooting as the Knicks, who were up by as many as 20 points in the second quarter, opened a 50-35 lead at the break.

Patrick Ewing had 17 points and eight rebounds and Chris Dudley had 11 points and a game-high 11 rebounds.

**76ers 114, Rockets 100**  
In Houston, Philadelphia rallied

behind 26 points and 15 assists by Allen Iverson and held off a third-quarter Houston comeback for its first victory of the season.

After trailing most of the game, the Rockets finally built a 90-84 lead with 10:45 to play in the game but the 76ers (1-5) didn't fold. Houston got only two more field goals the rest of the game and the 76ers outscored the Rockets 17-4 for a 101-94 lead with 5:46 to play.

**Jazz 98, Grizzlies 80**  
In Salt Lake City, Karl Malone scored 26 points and Jeff Malone added 19 as Utah denied Vancouver their first three-game winning streak

in franchise history. **Suns 103, Bucks 95**

In Phoenix, Cliff Robinson had his best game yet as a member of the Suns, scoring 21 points to lead the Suns over Milwaukee.

Rex Chapman also scored 21 points and Jason Kidd had 16 points, 13 rebounds and eight assists.

Glenn Robinson led Milwaukee with 31 points and Ervin Johnson added 16. **Pistons 102, Warriors 71**

In Oakland, California, Lindsey Hunter scored 22 points and Brian Williams added 19 as Detroit broke a five-game losing streak by defeating winless Golden State.

# Devils defeat Rangers on Richter's mistake

**NEW YORK (AP)** — Goaltender Mike Richter mis-played Bobby Holik's long shot in the third period Wednesday night, giving the New Jersey Devils a 3-2 win over the New York Rangers.

The Devils led 2-1 when Holik unleashed a 62-foot shot from just over the blue line that beat Richter high on the stick side at 10:14.

That shot, only one of three for the Devils in the third period, proved to be the winner as New York's Niklas Sundstrom scored his second goal of the game less than two minutes later to pull the Rangers within a goal.

The Devils, who entered the game with the NHL's top defense and the NHL's top goaltender in Martin Brodeur, extended their winning streak to four games and are 10-0-0 this season when leading after the second period.

The loss in the first meeting this season between the metropolitan-area rivals, broke a three-game unbeaten streak for New York (1-0-2).

Petr Sykora and Brian Rolston also scored for New Jersey. **Capitals 4, Penguins 1**

In Pittsburgh, Adam Oates scored one goal and assisted on two others in a four-goal second period for Washington.

Capitals goalie Olaf Kolzig lost his shutout with 58 seconds left in the third period when Jiri Slegr scored.

**Islanders 2, Panthers 2, tie**  
In Miami, Eric Fichaud stopped 37 shots and New York scored two goals in a 1:26 span in the second period.

Despite being outshot 39-20, the Islanders salvaged a tie behind second-period goals by Travis Green and Robert Reichel.

New York had a potential game-winning goal waved off with 2:25 left in regulation. Green's blast grazed the left post and was disallowed after being reviewed.

Florida also missed a chance to win in regulation when Johan Garpenlov missed an open net, flicking the puck off the crossbar with 24 seconds left.

**Bruins 3, Stars 3, tie**  
In Dallas, Ted Donato scored

with 41.5 seconds left after Boston pulled its goalie to tie it. Dallas took a 3-1 lead into the third period, but Ray Bourque's fifth goal of the season at 10:54 narrowed the Bruins' deficit.

With goaltender Byron Dafeo off the ice for a sixth attacker, the Bruins tied it when Donato popped a bouncing puck off Stars defenseman Derian Hatcher and past goalie Ed Belfour.

**Hurricanes 6, Oilers 4**  
In Edmonton, Alberta, Sami Kapanen recorded his first career hat trick as Carolina extended Edmonton's season-high winless streak to seven games.

Carolina's second straight win kicked off a three-game road trip in western Canada. Edmonton has lost five of nine home games this season.

Kapanen, a 1995 draft pick from Finland, scored twice in the second period when the Hurricanes built a 4-2 lead.

**Canucks 5, Sharks 2**  
In San Jose, California, Pavel Bure scored on a penalty shot, igniting a three-goal first period as Vancouver snapped its club-record 10-game losing streak.

Steve Staios, Trevor Linden, Jyrki Lumme and Mike Sillinger also scored for the Canucks, who won for the first time since a 5-1 victory over Dallas on Oct. 21.

Goaltender Arns Irbe, a former Shark, turned away 30 of 32 shots to help deny San Jose's bid for its first three-game winning streak in two years.

**Canadiens 4, Mighty Ducks 3, OT**  
In Anaheim, California, Valeri Bure scored with 52 seconds left in overtime as Montreal won its sixth straight game.

Vladimir Malakhov got the tying goal with 1:37 left in the third period. Martin Rucinsky extended his scoring streak to four games and Sakari Kuivola also scored for the Canadiens, whose winning streak is their longest since October 1995.

Montreal goalie Jocelyn Thibault made 22 saves and ended Teemu Selanne's career-high 11-goal scoring streak.

Joe Sacco scored on the first penalty shot in the Ducks' five-year history.

## NFL Individual Leaders

NATIONAL CONFERENCE					AMERICAN CONFERENCE				
Quarterbacks	At	Com	Yds	TD	At	Com	Yds	TD	
S. Young, S.F.	210	138	1736	13	Drew Brees, N.O.	206	129	1612	11
Dillon, T.B.	252	147	1748	11	Tom Brady, N.E.	241	150	2560	21
Tommy L. Jones, A.T.	200	123	1544	9	Steve Young, S.F.	237	141	2212	18
John Elway, Den.	287	171	2212	18	Tom Brady, N.E.	241	150	2560	21
Tommy L. Jones, A.T.	200	123	1544	9	Tom Brady, N.E.	241	150	2560	21

## NBA Box Scores

Team	Score	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Atlanta	98	22	18	24	34
Indiana	80	15	28	21	16
Atlanta	98	22	18	24	34
Indiana	80	15	28	21	16

## NHL Box Scores

Team	Score	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Washington	4	1	1	1	1
Pittsburgh	0	0	0	0	0
Washington	4	1	1	1	1
Pittsburgh	0	0	0	0	0

## Winning numbers

In the weekly Lotto drawing, the winning numbers were 11, 19, 22, 26, 43 and 46. The supplementary number was 1.

## Winning cards

In yesterday's Midai Haseyis daily chance drawing:

## Weather

Forecast for the week of November 14-20, 1997.

## Around the world

City	Low	High	Wind	Cloud
Amsterdam	01	10	11	cloudy
Bahia	08	31	11	cloudy
Bangkok	08	31	11	cloudy

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